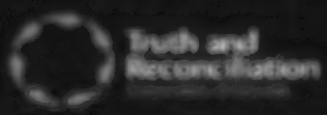
Canada's Residential Schools:
The Inuit and Northern Experience

The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

Volume 2



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Canada's Residential Schools

Volume 2

Introduction

Mission schools in the North: 1867 to 1960

CHAPTER 1

An era of neglect: Canadian government policy in the North before 1950

The Canadian government's interest in the North until the Second World War was extremely limited. Much of the North was acquired in 1870 in the transfer of Rupert's Land and the North-Western Territory to Canada. Until 1876, the North-West Territories included all of present-day Alberta, Saskatchewan, Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut, as well as much of present-day Manitoba, Ontario, and Québec.[1] As settlement increased, new provinces were created out of the territories, portions of the territories were added to existing provinces, and the territories were subdivided. Today, northern Canada is made up of three territories: Yukon (created in 1898), the Northwest Territories (the name was changed from the North-West Territories in 1906), and Nunavut (created in 1999). Portions of Québec and Labrador that extend into the Ungava Peninsula also make up part of the northern Inuit traditional homeland and are properly considered part of the Canadian North. The Québec portion of the Canadian North is known as Nunavik, while the Newfoundland and Labrador portion is known as Nunatsiavut.

In the late nineteenth century the northern portion of the territories was subdivided on several occasions into a variety of administrative districts, including Ungava, Mackenzie, Yukon, and Franklin. Canada north of the sixtieth parallel is over 3.9 million square kilometres, about one-third of the entire Canadian land mass. It is home to members of the Tlingit, Athapaskan, and Inuit (or Eskimo-Aleut) language groups.[2]

The discovery of gold in the Yukon in 1898 led to the establishment of a separate Yukon Territory. The federal government appointed a commissioner as head of government and an advisory council, composed largely of white southerners, to serve as the governing body. While the gold boom saw tens of thousands of people come to the region and hundreds of millions of dollars of gold shipped out of the country, it was short-lived. By 1911, Dawson City, home to 16,000 people in 1898, had a population of only 2,500.[3]

In 1903, in response to the presence of American whaling stations in the Far North, Royal North-West Mounted Police posts were established at Fort McPherson and Herschel Island, thereby asserting Canadian sovereignty in the Arctic.[4] In 1905 the

provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were created out of the southern portions of the old North-West Territories and Manitoba's northern border was extended to the sixtieth parallel. At the same time the federal government amended the *North-West Territories Act*, allowing for the appointment of a territorial commissioner who would govern the territory with an appointed council. The first commissioner was Lieutenant Colonel Fred White, a former Mounted Police comptroller. On his death in 1918, White was replaced as territorial commissioner by W. W. Cory, the deputy minister of the interior.[5]

The Yukon went into economic decline after the Klondike gold rush, while the North-West Territories remained, from the Canadian government's perspective, an unknown land: its features were unmapped, its people uncounted.[6] Well into the twentieth century, First Nations and Inuit people of the territories continued to organize their own communities and maintain their own lifestyles, although they were involved in the fur trade and affected by disease.[7]

No Northwest Territories council was appointed until 1920, when the government was spurred into action by the discovery of oil at Norman Wells near the Arctic Circle. The following year, a Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch was established within the Department of the Interior. Under the supervision of Branch Director O. S. Finnie, the first permanent federal government offices in the Northwest Territories were established in Fort Smith, just north of the Alberta border.[8] The Canadian Arctic Expedition of 1913 to 1918 was one of the government's first efforts to map the islands of the western Arctic and conduct a study of the Inuit.[9] In 1922 the government began conducting annual patrols in the eastern Arctic, providing limited medical services and carrying out scientific surveys.[10] Both the patrols and the police presence were primarily intended to assert sovereignty, not to address the needs of the people of the territory.[11]

Throughout the 1920s the members of the Council of the Northwest Territories were all officials of the Department of the Interior or of the Mounted Police. Their meetings were held in Ottawa.[12] Aboriginal people, who constituted the vast majority of the territorial population, had no direct ability to influence the council.[13]

Only two Treaties were negotiated in the Northwest Territories: Treaty 8 and Treaty 11. Treaty 8 covered much of northern British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan as well as a portion of the western North-West Territories. It was reached in 1899 in response to the presence of prospectors drawn north by the Klondike gold rush. First Nations people were forced into negotiating this Treaty in 1898 when they refused to allow police and trappers into the Fort St. John area without a Treaty. The federal government chose to leave the First Nations of the Yukon out of the Treaty since it was believed the gold rush would not lead to a permanent settlement. The land around Great Slave Lake, however, was thought to hold considerable potential for long-term mineral development.

Bishop Vital Grandin and Father Albert Lacombe, leading Catholic missionaries, acted as intermediaries in these negotiations. They encouraged First Nations to approve the Treaty, urged Métis to opt for *Indian Act* status, and demanded assurances that parents would have the right to have their children educated in schools of the religion of their choice. In this context, both the Catholic missionaries and the government Treaty commissioners envisioned a system in which the only choices open to parents would be between various Christian denominations. When it came to education, the Treaty committed the federal government to "pay the salaries of such teachers to instruct the children of said Indians as to Her Majesty's Government of Canada may seem advisable."[14]

Roman Catholic Bishop Gabriel Breynat lobbied to have further Treaties negotiated in the North.[15] It was not until 1921, following the Norman Wells oil discovery, that Treaty 11 was signed, extending Treaty provisions down the Mackenzie River basin. Once again the government decision to enter into a Treaty was based on its desire to further colonization and economic development. Without a Treaty, the government was uncertain of whether it could dispose of the land under which the oil had been located.[16] Breynat's presence at the Treaty talks played a role in convincing many of the First Nations leaders to overcome their opposition to the Treaty.[17] Like Treaty 8, Treaty 11 provided a commitment "to pay the salaries of teachers to instruct the children of said Indians in such manner as His Majesty's Government may deem advisable."[18]

Having negotiated the Treaties, the federal government demonstrated limited interest in implementing their provisions.[19] In the mid-1930s Breynat helped organize the Oblate Indian and Eskimo Commission to lobby the government for improved Treaty implementation. By then he had concluded that

> the text of the Treaties was too vague and did not contain all of the promises that were verbally made by the representatives of the Crown. Nevertheless, these promises were made, and without them the Indians would never had consented to sign the treaties. It was on the faith of these promises, guaranteed by the bishops and missionaries, that it was possible to persuade the Indians to affix their signature.

In particular, Breynat was distressed by the government's unwillingness to protect Aboriginal fishing and hunting rights.[20]

Responsibility for the provision of services to Aboriginal people was fractured. For example, the 1905 *North-West Territories Act* made no reference to the Inuit, suggesting that they were to be treated like any other Canadians resident in the territories. While they were not seen to have status under the *Indian Act*, Indian Affairs did provide some funding to missionaries and traders who were providing education and relief to Inuit. From 1918 to 1923, this included about $4,000 in educational funding. Finnie sought to have his branch assume responsibility for the Inuit and provide educational

services to them. However, in 1924, at the instigation of Duncan Campbell Scott, the deputy minister of Indian affairs, the *Indian Act* was amended to give Indian Affairs responsibility for "Eskimo matters." Within a few years, this responsibility was shifted back to the commissioner of the Northwest Territories, and the provision was dropped from the *Indian Act* in 1930.[21]

The boundaries of Québec were not extended to include Nunavik until 1912.[22] Even after that transfer the provincial government took little responsibility for providing services to the Aboriginal people of the region. During the early years of the Great Depression, the federal government provided relief to the Inuit of Québec, who had been particularly hard hit by the decline in fur prices. It subsequently required the Québec government to cover the cost of relief, arguing that the Inuit were the responsibility of the province. The Québec government made the payment for three years, but then challenged the federal government in court, successfully arguing that Inuit were a federal responsibility. During the four years that the case was being argued, government services remained minimal.[23] In fact, there was little improvement until the 1950s. Aside from the Roman Catholic and Anglican schools at Fort George on James Bay, neither the federal nor the provincial government established formal residential schools in northern Québec until after the Second World War.

Labrador did not join the Canadian confederation until 1949, when Newfoundland became part of Canada. Before then Labrador was governed by the British colonial government of Newfoundland and was, in effect, the colony of a colony. The colonial government in St. John's provided almost no services to the residents of Labrador, be they Aboriginal or non-Aboriginal. Until 1949 any services that were provided were delivered by the Protestant International Grenfell Association and the Moravian Brotherhood.[24]

Given the federal government's lack of interest in entering into Treaties with First Nations in the North or in providing them with services, it is not surprising that residential schooling in the North was, for many years, solely a church initiative.

CHAPTER 2

Laying the groundwork: Mission schools: 1850 to 1900

The arrival of two Oblate priests at Red River in 1845 marked the beginning of a period of intense Catholic missionary work throughout the Canadian North and West.[1] Oblate missionary Henri Faraud created the church's northern beachhead, establishing a mission at Fort Chipewyan in what is now northern Alberta in 1849 and the St. Joseph's Mission at Fort Resolution in 1856.[2] The Anglicans followed them north. In 1858, Oblate father Henri Grollier learned that James Hunter, a representative of the Anglican Church Missionary Society (CMS) was on a Hudson's Bay Company (HBC) barge headed for Fort Simpson in the Mackenzie region. Hunter intended to drive the Catholic missionaries of the North "into the Arctic sea." To prevent Hunter from seizing the advantage, Grollier sought to travel to Fort Simpson with him. Initially, HBC officials told him he would be taken only to Big Island, where he could minister to the Métis. However, the Roman Catholic boatmen insisted on taking Grollier all the way to Fort Simpson, where he and Hunter devoted considerable energy to undercutting each other.[3]

Throughout the North, the CMS and the Oblates countered one another in this fashion: an Anglican mission at Fort Liard was matched by a Catholic one, with similar pairings occurring at Hay River, Fort Norman, and Fort Wrigley.[4] By the 1890s, the Anglicans acknowledged that, as a result of the Oblates' work, most people in the Athabasca-Mackenzie region were at least nominally Catholic.[5]

The situation was very different farther west, in the Yukon. In the 1860s, two Anglican missionaries, W. W. Kirkby and Robert McDonald, began their mission to the Yukon. When the Oblate Isidore Clut undertook a journey to the region in 1872, he conceded that Kirkby and McDonald had already won over most of the Aboriginal population to Protestantism.[6] William Carpenter Bompas consolidated their work. Born into a Baptist family in England, Bompas converted to the Church of England as a young man. After hearing Rupert's Land Bishop David Anderson speaking at a fundraising meeting in 1865, he volunteered his services to the CMS and was sent to the Canadian North that year.[7] Under Bompas's direction, by the 1880s the Anglicans had ten mission stations in the North that were served by eight clergymen and four

teachers.[8] Bompas became bishop of the Yukon in 1891, just as the Mackenzie River basin was largely Catholic, the Yukon came to be seen as Anglican territory.

From missions to schools

These early missions became the basis for residential schools in the North. Father Henri Faraud was originally opposed to opening a residential school at Fort Providence. He reversed his position when he found out that the wives of Hudson's Bay employees were interested in having their daughters educated by nuns. By 1865, he had set to work on the construction of a school, complete with tiers of bookshelf-like bunk beds. The school's opening awaited the arrival of five Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns), who trekked much of the way from Red River to Fort Providence in 1867. A few years later, the threat of an Anglican school at Fort Chipewyan led Bishop Isidore Clut to dispatch a small contingent of Sisters of Charity from Fort Providence to Fort Chipewyan, in 1874.[9]

Educational goals were limited. Henri Faraud believed young girls needed little more than knowledge of the Catholic catechism and the ability to *read* and write.[10] Education was left in the hands of the Sisters of Charity.[11] Religious instruction took the form of ethics, catechism, music, services, and devotions. The hope was that with such an education, the student would not stray from the church after leaving school.[12] It was anticipated that students would return to their home communities, where hunting, trapping, and fishing would remain the primary economic activities.[13]

Life at the schools could be hard. At Fort Providence the Sisters of Charity were initially housed in a storage shed, just over a metre in height. Accommodations remained cramped for them and their students for years. According to a history of the order, by the time there were nine sisters and forty-five children,

> the conditions were no longer tolerable. In the day-time, it was not too hard to find room for all. But at night it was pitiful, though marvelous, to see how the little ones were stowed away in regular lines, some on them on tables or in cupboards, only one corner of the house being reserved for the Sisters themselves.[14]

There were no potatoes, meat, flour, butter, or grease during the school's second year of operation. Not surprisingly, the worry that their children were not being well cared for was a concern for many of the Métis parents.[15] The Oblates came close to closing the Fort Providence school in 1881 because money was so scarce. It was only when the Society for the Propagation of the Faith sent 15,000 francs that the school was saved.[16] At Fort Chipewyan, the Sisters of Charity discovered that the provisions for their first winter at the school consisted of "one sack of flour, one small barrel of sugar, five barrels of wheat, seven or eight of barley, and some potatoes."[17] For years planks suspended on trestles were the only chairs, and the nuns slept on tables and

the children on the floor."[14] In 1882, the Sisters of Charity at Fort Providence argued that the students were being made to spend too much time working and not enough in class.[15] The schools had to make do without government funding: in 1877 Farand had asked for support for his schools at Fort Providence and Fort Chipewyan, but the government declined to provide funding because there was no Treaty with the First Nations people in those regions.[16]

The first permanent Anglican boarding school in what was to become the Northwest Territories grew out of a mission that T. J. Marsh established at Hay River in 1893. He opened a small day school in his residence; with the arrival of seven students from Fort Providence, it was redefined as a boarding school in July 1898.[17]

Following the negotiation of Treaty 8 in 1899, Indian Affairs began making per capita payments to the Hay River school.[18] It declined to make a similar payment to the Fort Providence school since it lay outside the Treaty 8 boundary.[19] The decision had nothing to do with the education provisions of the Treaty, which made no mention of residential schools. Rather it reflected the department's administrative priorities. Indian Commissioner David Laird supported the decision, saying that schools outside of the Treaty boundaries were "beyond the range of the visits and inspection of the officials of the Department, hence we have little opportunity of ascertaining the precise nature of their work."[20]

Residential schooling in the Yukon got its start in 1891 when Anglican Bishop William Bompas began boarding orphaned children, who attended the mission school he had established in the community of Forty Mile.[21] Because he favoured his efforts on Métis children, he received no support from either the government or the Church Missionary Society. By 1896, four of his first six boarding students were Métis. Like others of his contemporaries, he viewed Métis children as a threat to social order if left unschooled—likely to become "the bitterest enemies and most formidable obstacles to our mission" — but having the potential to serve as cultural mediators between settlers and First Nations.[22] The small-scale boarding school closed in 1900 when Bompas moved his mission to Carcross (Caribou Crossing), also in the Yukon Territory,[23] and this eventually became the home of the first government-supported residential school in the territory.[24]

At the nineteenth century ended, certain enduring patterns had been established: a strong Catholic presence in the Mackenzie River basin, Anglican domination in the Yukon, the importance of residential schools in the ongoing competition between Catholics and Protestants, and, with the signing of Treaty 8 in 1899, the beginning of federal funding.

CHAPTER 9

Mission schools of the Northwest Territories: 1900 to 1960

At the start of the twentieth century, there were only two residential schools in the North-West Territories: the Catholic Sacred Heart school at Fort Providence and the Anglican school at Hay River. The Catholics would later open St. Joseph's at Fort Resolution in 1902 and Immaculate Conception at Aklavik in 1926.[1] The Anglicans opened a school at Shingle Point in the Yukon, which was intended for Inuit students from the Northwest Territories, in 1890.[2] By the time schools re-opened, Fort Providence, Hay River, and Fort Resolution had received additional government support.[3] The Catholics drew most of their students from the three Dene Nations of the basin of the Mackenzie River, while the Anglicans recruited more successfully from the Inuit and Dene of the Mackenzie Delta to the west (while the Anglicans opened Shingle Point and Hay River, serving the southern and east of the area, till below, a school that opened in Aklavik in 1936 (the Hay River school continued its operations until 1937).[4]

The mission school era would not come to an end until the 1960s. During that decade the federal government undertook a major expansion of schooling in the North, opening day schools and a series of large and small hostels. In these new forms of residential schooling came into being, the mission-run boarding schools in the Northwest Territories closed. Fort Resolution was the last mission operation to close, and the last one, Fort Providence, did not close until 1970.[5]

The northern mission schools were often great disasters, sometimes hundreds or even thousands of kilometres, from children's home communities, and consequently were very difficult and often dangerous. Children often were given additional exciting new names. Daily life in the transportation also made the northern schools seem different and brutal, which could be severe.

Children often came to the school because a parent died or were hospitalized. Once there, they were separated from their siblings, taught a new language and religion, fed strange foods, and given an education that made little reference to their culture or their history. Harsh punishments were imposed for behaviours they (children) did not view as improper, and much of their time was spent at the disciplined regimen

assist successive administrations to enable them to better carry on their commercial pursuits with them."[130]

Although Pelly was never intended to be a permanent school, in the mid-1920s the Anglicans closed Shingle Point and Herschel Island, consolidating their residential school operations in Aklavik. The school they opened there in 1926 could accommodate 100 pupils. Indian Affairs had agreed to support thirty-five pupils while the government of the Northwest Territories was required to support forty-three (some of whom were expected to be Inuit).[131]

Tensions between the Anglican and Catholic principals in Aklavik ebbed and flowed. In 1921 a fifteen-year-old Roman Catholic girl received instructions on how to handle a request signed by parents, but submitted by the Anglican bishop, seeking to have a student transferred from the Roman Catholic school in Aklavik to the Anglican school in the same community. The government employee did not know what the policy was for such transfers and feared they would "probably cause friction between the two schools."[132] In this case, an instruction was given not to approve the transfer unless there were extenuating circumstances.[133] A decade later, there were a dozen Anglican students living at the Roman Catholic school in Aklavik. In response to a query from the Anglican Church on this matter, Indian Affairs pointed out that none of these children were "Indians," and the departments was not paying for their support.[134] In 1936, the Anglican school at Aklavik was so full that an agreement was reached for twenty-eight Anglican children to be lodged and educated at the Roman Catholic school, although they attended church at the Anglican mission.[135]

The curriculum

The educational aims of the missions schools in the North in the twentieth century remained modest. In 1935, Bishop Bompas wrote,

> I confess I do not see much for mission graduates in the north, where we keep the children a short time, just enough to teach them to read and write. Otherwise they become unfitted for the lives they are to lead. The situation is different in the south, and the Indians no longer live for hunting and fishing. I have always insisted that, in the regions of the Canon [sic] with the Government in Ottawa, we insist on the directories, which must be understood between the north and south. We can not and should not be treated the same way.[136]

Anglican Bishop Isaac Stringer took a position that was similar to Bompas's, arguing that in the Northwest Territories, First Nations students should receive just enough schooling to allow them to read and write a letter and to handle the arithmetical calculations that a trader would be required to carry out.[137]

According to its principal, A. J. Vale, the subjects taught at the Hay River school in 1907, its first year in operation, included "reading, writing, arithmetic, composition, grammar, geography, dictation, literature, history and holy scripture in English and native, both in the syllabics and in the Roman characters. The pupils make good progress in their English studies, though of necessity very slow at first, as frequently they come to us not knowing any English."[46] Class hours were "9 to 12 a.m. [sic], and from 1.30 to 3.30 p.m., and in winter from 9.30 to 12 a.m. [sic], and 1.30 to 3.30 p.m., as our daylight is very short."

The school taught no industries but, according to Vale, it aimed

> to teach the boys the outdoor work and occasionally we are able to give them lessons in carpentering, iron repairing, and in building. The girls are taught to be thorough and clean housekeepers, and also to sew, mend and knit. In short, we aim to make each child a clean, thorough, industrious and practically useful person.[47]

An Indian agent's report from Fort Resolution seventeen years later reveals little difference from the earlier Hay River curriculum:

> The girls were being taught the usual household duties of sewing and mending, cooking &c. The boys do the chores and gardening, and are also taught to make snow shoes, do a small amount of trapping, &c. I saw samples of the work done in the class room, and as far as I could judge, it was fairly done. Of course these children are not kept in school for very many years, and the highest standing they attain is Grade V.[48]

In 1947, territorial school inspector I. W. McKinnon reported that parents of children at Fort Resolution felt they "were not learning very much by attendance. While such statements are not uncommon wherever a school is functioning, I do feel that a good deal of such criticism could be mitigated by making the instruction in each class more practical." He also described the classrooms as "small and unhealthy." The inspector reported that the school needed a supply of basic readers. By that time there were seventy-eight residential students and forty-seven day students.[49] In that year, McKinnon was also calling for the creation of more day schools, arguing that they had a positive impact on family life.[50]

A 1952 inspection report of the Anglican school in Aklavik noted that the school was "quite short of reading material for the primary grades." There was a film projector for showing National Film Board productions, but the radio was in poor condition and the record player broken. Some rooms were not adequately lit, waste materials in the school dugout constituted "a serious fire hazard," and the playground equipment was limited to four swings.[51]

Catholic demands for Catholic education proved to be a barrier to extending vocational training to Aklavik. Bishop Joseph-Marie Trocellier rejected a 1952 proposal

under which students from Immaculate Conception would receive manual training at the public day school in Aklavik. It was not proper, he wrote, for Catholic students to "attend any school from which the religious atmosphere and influence would be absent." While he recognized that the students would be taking vocational as opposed to religious instruction, he felt that they would be denied the "moral aspect of the vocational training, which cannot be inculcated into the minds of the pupils unless they are simultaneously grounded in the religious principles on which Christian ethical and moral standards are based."[52]

The schools were often understaffed. In 1954 at Fort Resolution, four teachers taught 144 students. As an inspector noted, "This is much too heavy an enrollment for four teachers, especially considering the language difficulties of the lower grade children."[53] Three years later, the Anglican school at Aklavik had four teachers and 111 students. One teacher was teaching forty-five students in Grades Two, Three, Four, and Five.[54] In 1952 the salaries for the three teachers at the Anglican school in Aklavik ranged from $80 to $85 a month. Their transportation from the South to Aklavik was paid, and at the end of four years they received six months' holiday with pay. One of the teachers lacked any professional qualifications, and the inspector concluded, "An upward revision of the salary schedule is strongly recommended if the Mission is to obtain experienced and qualified teachers."[55]

But for parents who wished to see their children educated, there were few options other than residential schools. R. A. J. Phillips, who served as the director of northern administration in the Department of Northern Affairs, provided this bleak overview of the schooling available to students in the Canadian North in 1950:

> Eight different authorities operated schools in the North. The Department of Northern Affairs provided only three classrooms. Though it paid grants to other agencies to run classes, the classroom standards were uneven. Some schools operated only four hours a day, four days a week. One teacher in three held no teaching certificate of any kind. Only 117 of the Eskimos got full-time schooling. There was no vocational education of any kind, no adult education, and no teaching for the growing ranks of hospital patients.[56]

Language

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, French was the language of instruction at the Roman Catholic boarding schools in the Northwest Territories. It could hardly have been otherwise. The vast majority of the eighty-three nuns who worked in the Mackenzie Valley from 1867 to 1919 were of francophone ancestry.[57] The same would be true of the Oblates. Into the 1940s, if they spoke a second language, it was likely to be an Aboriginal one.[58] While the Oblates had been encouraged

to learn Aboriginal languages, the Sisters of Charity were neither encouraged nor given the opportunities to become fluent in the languages their students spoke. Not surprisingly, communication between pupils and teachers was difficult: both were struggling to learn a foreign language in a strange and alien context.[59] Northwest Territories school inspector J. W. McKinnon reported that as late as 1946 the classes at Fort Providence were being taught in French and that the students wrote their compositions in French. In 1950 the entire school staff was still made up of French speakers; however, they assured McKinnon that all instruction was now in English.[60] In 1956, the poet Frank Scott travelled down the Mackenzie River with Pierre Trudeau, when the future prime minister was still a relatively unknown lawyer.[61] Scott wrote a poem about their visit to the Fort Providence school:

> The gentle sister in charge,
> A Grey Nun from Montreal,
>
> Welcomed us in French.
> Priests from France, nuns from Quebec,
> Taught Slavics (who still speak Indian)
> Grades I to VIII, in broken English.[62]

The missionaries always recognized that by learning Aboriginal languages and translating religious texts into those languages they were facilitating their ability to make Aboriginal converts. To this end catechism was taught in Dene at Fort Resolution well into the 1920s.[63] Bishop Breynat campaigned, unsuccessfully, in 1935 to be allowed to introduce Aboriginal languages in the schools to ensure that they did not disappear. With more success, he also advocated training students in hunting and fishing.[64] From the students' perspective the schools often appeared to be unrelenting in their hostility to Aboriginal languages. Jane S. Charlie has strong memories of being spanked for speaking her own language while attending the Anglican All Saints School in Aklavik. Because she never learned to speak English well, she felt that other students were able to blame her for their own misdemeanours.[65] When Lillian Elias, an Inuit child, was told not to speak her own language on her arrival at the Aklavik Roman Catholic school, she fought back: "Because they didn't want me to speak it I thought to myself, 'You're not going to keep me from speaking my language,' and so I really picked right back up when I got out of there."[66] For speaking his own language at the Fort Providence school, Samuel Gargan recalled having his head forcibly submerged in a bucket of water. As a result, he said, his ears were constantly running—a problem, he said, that was never treated. "I was subject to physical pain on my hands, fingers repeatedly being whacked with a scissors, my ears were pulled, and knuckle whacked on top of the head, hair was pulled and kicked."[67]

The loss of language skills created real anxieties for the students when they returned to their home communities. Margaret Oldenburg was a researcher who travelled

through northern Canada in the 1940s and 1950s, collecting botanical samples for the University of Minnesota.[68] In a 1946 letter to a colleague, she recounted that she had travelled to "Cambridge [Bay] with some girls going home from school at Aklavik and the two older ones wept most of the time because they had not seen their family in so long it was like going to strangers and they couldn't talk Eskimo adequately. Did you know that the children at the Anglican school are forbidden to talk Eskimo?"[69]

Student labour

Parents often felt the students were overworked. In 1952, a federal official reported, "During my last trip around Great Slave Lake in September and October 1951, I was told by at least three different native Indians that during their last two years at Mission Residential School they were employed continuously by the Missions without pay or other remuneration, on work projects such as cleaning hen houses, feeding cattle and maintenance projects in and about Mission establishments, instead of receiving class room instruction."[70] Each fall a barge would arrive in Aklavik loaded with logs for the school furnace. The students would form a long chain leading from the barge to the furnace room and, with the assistance of the school staff, unload the barge.[71]

Samuel Gargan was admitted to the Sacred Heart School in Fort Providence in March 1955. He was six years old and, because of an ankle injury, he had a cast on one leg. Although the cast was eventually removed, he experienced pain in that leg throughout his years at the school. Despite this he was expected to participate in all physical activities. "I would haul, stock pile, load and unload wood, chop urine and human waste from the outside toilet, wash and wax floors and clean up." He was constantly limping but not given any respite. If he complained, "I would be locked up in the boy's closet room."[72]

Proposals for training in the South

In 1925 the anthropologist Diamond Jenness recommended sending single youth between the ages of sixteen and twenty to the Halifax naval college. Jenness believed there were employment opportunities for the Inuit in navigation, mechanics, carpentry, metalwork, first aid, and telegraphy. While Jenness felt that this training "wherever possible, should be given in the north," he also felt that "any training that is of much value can only be given in the south."[73] To his lasting dismay, the project went nowhere.[74]

Some students, however, did go south for education. In 1927 A. L. Fleming, the Anglican archdeacon of the Arctic, was asked by John Ell Oudlanak (also written as

Oudlynnock) if he would take his son from Southampton Island in the Northwest Territories so he could be educated in the South.[75] Fleming noted that Oudlanak spoke very good English; along with his mother, he had travelled extensively with the cartographer and ethnologist George Comer.[76] Fleming consulted about the proposal with one of O. S. Finnie's assistants, who said that, since the Inuit were not wards of the state, there would be no problem with his "trying the experiment." Thinking that a single boy might be lonely, Fleming wrote to Oudlanak to ask that two boys be sent. With the assistance of the Hudson's Bay Company, ten-year-old Benjamin Oudlanak and Samuel Pudlutt of Kimmirut (Lake Harbour) on Baffin Island travelled to Lakefield, Ontario, where they were enrolled in the local school. Oudlanak's father made a financial contribution to his son's education, while Fleming assumed the cost of Pudlutt's schooling. Finnie had never been informed of the initiative and learned about it from the newspapers. He sought details from Fleming. In concluding his response, Fleming wrote, "The idea is not to educate these boys and send them back to the simple primitive Eskimo life, but to send them back for all practical purposes as white men."[77] The experience proved gruelling for the boys: they returned to the North after a year in which they endured influenza, pneumonia, measles, and tonsillitis.[78]

Discipline and abuse

The discipline at the schools was harsh and, for Aboriginal children, unlike anything they had previously experienced. Bill Erasmus's great-aunt attended Fort Providence school after her mother died. She lived with Erasmus when he was a young man and told him of her life at the school. One story that stuck out was the treatment given one student who regularly wet her bed. "They'd get a tub of cold water, either cold water or very, very hot water, and make her sit in it, and they would hold her down, and they could hear the girl screaming and in pain."[79]

Rita Arey's father, Arthur Furlong, attended the Anglican All Saints School in Aklavik. He told her of how he had once placed his younger brother Fred on the swing in the school playground only to find himself surrounded by older boys who wanted to pick on his brother. The two boys defended themselves until a priest broke up the melee. To Furlong's surprise, the priest then made young Fred take off his winter mittens and punch the swing's pole until his knuckles bled. This, he said, would teach him not to fight.[80]

At the Roman Catholic school at Aklavik, the older students were assigned to take care of the younger ones. Since the older students were subject to punishment if their younger charges misbehaved, Lillian Elias said that they "would make sure that we listened to them, even if they had to rough us up."[81] Far less talked about was the physical and sexual abuse. There are no court records of abuse from this period

and many of the former students are no longer living. But in a statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Samuel Gargan subtly referred to this still largely unexplored issue. "The cries you heard at night was not always because of loneliness or the longing of a parents impress. Nuns knew what was going on, but chose to remain silent on it."[82]

Health and nutrition

Food was often scarce and disease and death common in the northern mission schools. Many former students recalled difficulties in adapting to new foods. Children who were used to eating raw and frozen meat had to make an even more difficult transition. The difficulties in importing southern food and the limitations of farming in the North made the northern schools more dependent on local hunters for supplies than were the schools in the South.

Farming was always chancy, but Hay River, due to its location, fared better than most. It is in the most southerly part of the Northwest Territories, and is known today as "the garden capital of the North." By the time the Hay River school closed in 1936, it had a 1.6-hectare garden capable of producing 400 bushels of potatoes and ninety bushels of other vegetables.[83] But in 1911 conditions were different. The school had two cows, one bull, three calves, and a horse, although the horse wandered off and never returned.[84] In 1929 Bishop A. L. Fleming asked the federal government to provide the Shingle Point school with a supply of pemmican (dried meat and berries). Although the church was sending its own food supplies from the South, Fleming thought that pemmican "would be much better for the students, and be more like their regular native diet."[85] Due to a shortage of hay, two farm animals had to be slaughtered in 1932.[86]

A failed hunt could bring about a crisis. The February 5, 1910, entry in the Fort Providence school journal reports, "We are rationing bread, one piece three times a day."[87] [Nous sommes à la ration pour le pain: un morceau 3 fois par jour.] The journal entry for February 18, 1917, reads, "Our hunters return empty handed. No more meat! What are we going to do?" Ten days later, hunters killed 130 caribou.[88] Despite this reprieve, food shortages arose again the following fall. In September the sisters reported that much of the meat from the previous winter had begun to spoil. The garden produced "small and few potatoes," the chickens were killed for lack of feed, and food was being rationed. By October 3, 1917, prayers were being said to St. Joseph for abundant fishing, "as our children are suffering from hunger." Ten days later fishermen brought in 8,000 fish.[89] In November 1927 Bishop Breynat telegraphed an urgent message to Ottawa, reporting that the fall fishery had failed at Fort Resolution, as had the school's potato crop. He was "fearing serious shortness of food for school and

staff" and requesting permission to kill moose or buffalo if no caribou appeared by Christmas.[91]

A former Hay River residential school student recalled that in the years following the First World War, he "didn't see jam from the time I got off the boat to the time I got back on to come back down."[92] Another recalled a constant diet of fish: "They would boil it up real good until the meat falls away, the bones and scales all floating around, then mix in flour and serve it up. I won't use flour for my dogs because there's not much good in it."[93] Another former student recalled, "We had meat once a year, on Christmas day. One time they butchered a cow, hung it to bleed, and some boys rushed out when no one was looking and ripped the fat right off it. There was lots of bacon in the store-room, but it wasn't for the kids."[94] The picture painted by these former students is no different from the one that A. J. Vale, Hay River school principal from 1907 to 1927, left in his memoirs. He wrote that, due to high freight costs, "we had to try to live, as much as possible, on country produce." This was largely fish and potatoes. "Many a time we had them three times a day. No eggs, oranges or the like were to be obtained. In fact, for five years at a stretch I did not even see any and only a limited amount of canned food was put up in those days."[95]

An analysis of the Hay River diet of the 1920s undertaken in the 1970s by the anthropologist Shepard Krech concluded that

> protein intake was exceptional; vitamin A, niacin, ascorbic acid and phosphorous were present in abundance; and thiamine and riboflavin levels were adequate. However, calorie and iron intakes were very marginal. Calcium levels were extremely low. A poor fishery year would have resulted in a significant deficit of calories. A poor harvest may have produced iron deficiency and affected calcium and carbohydrate intake.[96]

An ongoing problem in the Northwest Territories in the first half of the twentieth century was the absence of medical examinations before students were admitted to school. In 1919 three children who had been recently transferred from Fort Good Hope to Fort Resolution fell ill shortly after their arrival. They had been admitted without having undergone the required medical inspection on the grounds "that they were orphans and had to be provided for in some way." Two died, leading Indian Affairs official H. J. Bury to recommend "the regulation covering the admission of children to these boarding schools be more rigidly enforced."[97]

In the fall of 1923 a typhoid outbreak at Fort Providence killed five students. The government doctor was not able to visit the school during the outbreak for lack of a boat. Writing in February, Dr. C. Bourget reported that "a few of the convalescents are so badly affected that their complete recovery is problematic." He concluded that the disease had been brought to the school by recently enrolled students, and had spread through defects in the school's drainage.[98]

A student who died at the Hay River school in 1930 had been admitted without a medical examination "owing to a lack of medical services in the north."[30] In 1931 the Shingle Point principal admitted students without a medical examination since the federally designated doctor "had not come to examine the children, although he had been repeatedly asked to so do." According to the principal, in the two-year period that the school had been in operation, the doctor had come only once during the winter—for a one-hour fly-in visit.[31]

The Northwest Territories Council was told in 1929 that it was common practice for missionaries "to bring children in to the schools and later to ask the local doctor to examine them and complete the certificate of health." In an effort to force schools to have students examined before admission, one northern doctor recommended that the government date the start of payment of the per capita from the date of the student's examination.[32]

A tour of the western Arctic in 1944 led Dr. George Wherrett, a prominent public-health physician, to conclude,

> Only in the minority of instances, however, is there a regular examination of all children on admission and no x-ray surveys are carried out. In some schools, immunization and vaccination are practised; in others, not at all. One cannot stress too strongly the importance of all these procedures ... In practically every school visited ... cases of tuberculosis develop during the years, resulting fatally.[33]

Until the end of the mission era, federal officials were not able to exercise meaningful control over the way the schools admitted students. In 1955 L. A. C. O. Hunt, a district administrator in the Northwest Territories, noted that "it would be highly desirable to scrutinize all Applications for Admission to residential schools well in advance of the entry of the child." Instead, he said, government officials were "often faced with the so 'fait accompli.'" Hunt was citing a case in which Roman Catholic authorities had flown a young boy from Coppermine to Aklavik and enrolled him in the school, which Hunt believed to be already overcrowded, without government approval.[34]

This lack of inspection meant the schools were prey to regular outbreaks of infectious illness. In 1913 Sister McQuirk, principal of the Fort Providence school, reported that while student health had been improving, "we had to deplore the death of 9 of our youngest pupils, this winter, by a malignant attack of influenza, which nothing could check. Their constitutions are so weak that we keep continually dosing them with iron and cod liver oil to keep them in a normal state."[35]

In September 1918, forty-seven students at Fort Providence came down with whooping cough, forcing a cancellation of classes. Poor health at the school continued into October with an outbreak of dysentery. The school journal reported on October 11 that "Samuel took his last breath"; on October 13 that "Caroline died this morning at 2 o'clock"; on October 21–22 that "Charles lost his little boat"; and on October 29

that "this morning at one o'clock poor Isidore peacefully left for heaven."[132] The following year influenza (referred to in the records as "la grippe") broke out in August. Its September typhoid fever was so severe that classes were cancelled. Two more students were dead by the end of the month.[133]

In April 1943 another flu epidemic hit the Fort Providence school. Several sisters and all the students were afflicted, leading to a cancellation of classes.[134] In early December of the next year, three-quarters of the students were struck down with whooping cough.[135] This was followed by an outbreak of mumps, keeping children out of class until the beginning of February 1945.[136] At the beginning of April 1950, seventy-six students at Fort Providence were in bed with measles.[137] Further outbreaks of measles hit the school in October 1952 and the spring of 1957.[138] An outbreak of the Asian influenza epidemic of 1958 left all the children in bed.[139]

At Fort Resolution the situation was similar. The school journal for 1893 to 1940 reports outbreaks of influenza in 1911, 1915, 1930 (twice in one year), 1933, 1935, 1936, 1937, 1938, and 1941; whooping cough in 1929 and 1931; diphtheria in 1923; chicken pox in January 1926, 1930, and 1936; diarrhea in 1926; and measles in 1931.[140] On July 21, 1929, the Fort Resolution school journal bleakly observed, "We are obliged to inform so many families several children who have been weakened by illness."[141] Between December 3, 1911, and February 24, 1941, the Fort Resolution school journal recorded fifty-six deaths, including one elder, two former students, and three members of religious orders. There was an average of over two deaths a year during this seventy-year period.[142]

In nearby Hay River, the record of epidemics was similar to Fort Resolution's. There were outbreaks of measles in 1951,[143] diphtheria in 1917,[144] influenza in 1936,[145] chicken pox and influenza in 1935,[146] and influenza again in 1936.[147] A 1938 an outbreak of measles had ordered attendance at Hay River to thirty-two[illegible] students and eleven day students, with very irregular attendance, according to the principal.[148] Bishop Isaac Lessinger wrote in June 1938, "Six deaths have occurred in the school during the last two years – up to March 1938 which is the date of the latest news received."[149] In later years, the school had a very heavy death toll. At least thirty-two deaths were registered between 1947 and 1951; ten of these occurred in 1949.[150] The situation was sadly clear that Oblate Camphell Street discovered to close the school.[151]

In 1936 Midnight Point teacher Mabel Jones wrote of how Mabel Martin left ill on December 15, 1935, and died a month and a half later:

> My heart just aches for her parents Laura and Martin in Aklavik. They had given her into my keeping two years and a half ago when I was leaving A. [Aklavik] for the School and I was so looking forward to their joy at seeing her so well and so big this summer when the school moved. She was not a strong child and for that reason has wormed nearer to me than any of the others. Isidore was the out of my mind and heart day or night. I had hoped she had outgrown

> [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

have commenced at the Grade I level." Waller proposed harsh measures: the government should be taking

> all the children of school age from a designated area and retaining them at school—summer holidays excepted—until they have reached leaving age. The implementation of this policy will take time and may not be immediately successful, but it will help the parents to organize his thinking on the purpose of the school and will be the means of getting the educational results we want.

Having blamed the parents for the schools' recruitment problems, Waller commented that the school at Fort Resolution was "woefully inadequate. All of the four classrooms are substandard with respect to size, shape, lighting and ventilation."[117] By the end of the 1930s, attendance was being much more strictly enforced, to the point where overcrowding put the children at risk. By 1937, the Fort Resolution and Fort Providence schools were viewed as being so crowded that, in the opinion of a government inspector, "any additional children will produce crowding to the point of being a fire hazard."[118]

Runaways

Because the northern schools were so distant from children's home communities, running away was less common than in the South, but it did take place. For example, two young girls ran away from Fort Providence in March 1902. They were found and returned later the same day. A month later, one of the girls made a second unsuccessful attempt to escape. In the school journal, one of the nuns wrote that, while the girl appeared repentant, it was doubtful that she was sincere.[119] The following year a boy ran away from Fort Resolution on the first day of school. According to the school chronicle,

> Sister Theodore proceeded with the first article in the program of education in the North, the bathing of the children who arrive filthy covering with vermin. It was a difficult task because bathing was unknown to them. Having cleaned one, Sister Theodore left him for a moment to fetch a clean shirt and pants. On her return, the little savage was gone, the lonely cabin too strongly. Fortunately, a brother had seen him and brought him back.[120]

In the summer of 1923, James Lafferty attempted to return to his parents, who lived two days' journey from Fort Resolution. Several search parties failed to locate him. However, according to the school journal, "one little rascal arrived in the dormitory, alone, at 2 a.m., very weary and wet and went to bed without a word."[121] Three brothers, ages five to nine, ran away from the Fort Providence school in 1932. The boys were attempting to return to their home, unaware of the great distance they would have to

travel. The Mounted Police found them and returned them to the school, charging Mines and Resources (the department with responsibility for the Indian Affairs Branch) $9.20 in costs.[100]

The student memoirs discussed in the following chapter provide a glimpse of what the children were running away from.

Aboriginal schoolchildren outside the Fort Providence school in the Northwest Territories, around 1920.
Library and Archives Canada, F. H. Ellis, Canada, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, PA-101548.

Students at the Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories, school, around 1928. In 1913, when a mother removed her daughter from the Fort Resolution school, the North-West Mounted Police were called in and the mother surrendered the girl to the school.
Library and Archives Canada, J. F. Moran, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, PA-102519.

On July 25, 1920, the Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories, school journal bleakly observed, "We are obliged to return to their families several children who have been weakened by illness."

Canada, Department of Interior, Library and Archives Canada, PA-042133.

The Roman Catholic school and hospital in Aklavik, Northwest Territories.

Northwest Territories Archives, N-1979-050-0042.

Residents and nuns from the Roman Catholic school at Aklavik, Northwest Territories, going for a picnic on a barge with a tugboat.
Northwest Territories Archives, N-1979-051-1191.

Inuit children often stayed at the Anglican school at Aklavik in the Northwest Territories year-round because their homes were too distant from the school.
Indian and Northern Affairs, Library and Archives Canada, Meikle, PA-101771.

Students arriving at the Anglican school at Aklavik, Northwest Territories.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P9901-416.

The Anglican school in Aklavik, Northwest Territories. In 1957, the school at Aklavik had four teachers and 111 students. One teacher was teaching forty-five students in Grades Two, Three, Four, and Five.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P7538-854

The Hay River school in the Northwest Territories. In his memoirs, long-serving Hay River school principal A. J. Vale wrote that at the school, no "eggs, oranges or the like were to be obtained. In fact, for five years at a stretch I did not even see any and only a limited amount of canned food was put up in those days."
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75-103-S8-260.

A classroom in the Hay River, Northwest Territories, school. A Department of Mines and National Resources memorandum on education in the Northwest Territories concluded that in 1939 the standard of education in the territories was "not generally as high as in the Indian schools throughout the Provinces."
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P75S8-136.

Bishop Isaac Stringer and students at the Dawson hostel in the Yukon Territory.
Yukon Archives, Ko 155, Fol.

The recreation room of the Carcross school in the Yukon Territory.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P1981-1110

The Chooutla school in Carcross, Yukon Territories. School discipline was strict. In rugs, Principal R. C. Grant warned that students who skate from the school "would be laid across the classroom desk in the presence of the whole school, clad only in their night attire, and strapped on a different part of their anatomy than their hands."

General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, PA1984-001

Girls' student of the Anglican Church in Aklavik/Inuvik in the Yukon Territories.
Colonial Yukon Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, Toronto area.

The Aklavik/Inuvik Baptist residence in the Yukon Territories. For much of its history, the school was housed in abandoned military buildings.
Yukon Archives, Knox, Ray.

CHAPTER 6

Student Life at the Mission Schools

over their mouth and making strong black tea. Later we would take our catches of muskrats and rabbits down to the basement and skin them."[37] When Theodore was twelve, his father had a stroke while hunting in the area on *Our Lady of Lourdes* that left him half paralyzed. Theodore was also hospitalized for a while to allow him to help support his family.

Alice Blondin-Perrin

Alice Blondin-Perrin entered the Roman Catholic residential school at Fort Resolution in the Northwest Territories at the age of four. "I was a little girl who spoke only Slavey, as my parents did. Because of that language barrier, I was hurt many times. I was punished, slapped, yelled at and more."[38] She had grown up in a family that lived, in her words, in "the traditional Dene way, hunting, trapping, gathering, and fishing, living off the land, surviving the harshest seasons the north had to offer, as Dene have done for thousands of years."[39] Her father was skilled at making snowshoes.[40] She had warm memories of time spent on her mother's lap while she was being carefully groomed.[41] All this changed in 1952 when, at the end of a two-day plane journey from Edmonton Bay, she arrived at Fort Resolution.

> As the mission entrance, there was a pasture with fenced windows all around. There strangers met us, dressed very strangely. One was a priest. The other two were Grey Nuns. The priest was dressed in a black cassock, the nuns in dark tan habits with a stiff, black, horse-shaped lace around their faces, and black material covering their heads. They looked alien to me. I was scared, even though they smiled. They talked to us in a strange language.[42]

Alice and her sister Muriel had arrived wearing homemade clothing on which their mother had embroidered floral designs. The girls valued the garments for their warmth and the love that had gone into their creation. They never saw them again.[43] Through washing the girls received an arrival kit given to them.[44] She and her sister were the only students at the school who spoke their northern Cree Dene dialect of the Dene language, referred to by non-natives as Slavey. And while education was supposed to be in English, most often the nuns issued their orders in French. Alice said she rarely knew what she was being told, but could usually tell from a nun's tone of voice and body language that she had done something wrong.[45]

Her brother Joseph was also at the school, but because of the strict segregation, she was never able to communicate with him, having to satisfy her desire for a family connection by staring whenever she caught sight of him.[46] Like many residential school students, she was taught to be ashamed of her body and received limited education about the changes it would go through. "As girls, we were all to be very modest in the way we washed our bodies. We were not to look at other girls while they

washed, and we were under tight scrutiny by the nuns in charge; we did not want to get into trouble."[47] When a supervisor found Alice sleeping on her side with her hands clutched between her legs, she woke the child up, demanded to know what she was doing, and insisted that she get down on her knees and pray.[48]

Even though many caribou—a traditional and favoured food source for most of the students—came near Fort Resolution, she could not recall ever eating it during all her years at the school. At times there was wood bison in the stews and she recalled enjoying it. "We ate porridge, homemade beans, and toast for breakfast every day." The only change in the diet came at Easter when they were served boiled eggs. Alice hated eggs, but came to love beans and toast.[49] When students were not in class they were usually working—either cleaning or sewing. It was difficult and tedious work. Her mistakes were subject to regular criticism, and it took her years to be able to darn properly.[50] While she bridled under the discipline that the supervisors imposed, she enjoyed much of the classroom work. However, "all the books were about white people and I used to wonder why I was brown. Of course I did not dare ask why I was different from the people in the textbooks. The characters in them all had white skin like the Grey Nuns, lived in pretty houses with white picket fences, and had a pet living with them."[51]

Other positive memories included Christmas celebrations, winter picnics, and visits to Mission Island. But these were overshadowed by the routine, the harsh discipline, and the lack of love. "There was absolutely no nurturing from the Grey Nun supervisors. There was no loving touch, only fear in my heart when they were around me."[52] In 1958 she was one of the first students to transfer from Fort Resolution to Breynat Hall, the new government-built, church-run residence in Fort Smith. The move, which brought many changes to her life, also marked the end of the mission era in northern Canadian residential schooling.

Albert Canadien

In 1952, the RCMP came to Albert Canadien's father's camp in the Northwest Territories and told him that Albert, who was born in 1945, would have to attend the Fort Providence school that fall.[53] Albert was determined to be brave when he was dropped off at school, but when his mother let go of his hand and a nun guided him into the parlour, the reality of his situation sank in. "I started crying and tried to hang onto the door frame as the Sisters pulled me away. Trying her best to soothe me, my mother kept promising she would come back and visit us soon." He spent the day with the other new boys; some were silent, others tearful, others sobbed. They were taken upstairs to the dormitory where an older boy helped them to their beds. They were told to prepare for a bath and put their clothes under their beds. Their home clothing was replaced with denim coveralls.[54]

Communication was a problem from the outset because most of the new students spoke only their Dene language.[54] Once students had learned a little English, they were forbidden to speak Dene. "The Sisters who supervised us at that time spoke only French; they didn't speak English that well. As a consequence, we learned broken English from them."[55] While there were prayers in Slavey, Albert said that the priests did not pronounce the language well and "some words and phrases used in various prayers didn't make too much sense."[57]

School was strictly regimented: far different from his home life where children learned by watching and listening.[58] "The Sister's way of teaching was to pound it into you until you learned it."[59] Like young Masak in Aklavik, Albert was mystified by nursery rhymes such as "Old MacDonald," "Little Bo Peep," and "Three Blind Mice."[60] Religion was given a predominant place in the classroom, to the point that in his memoir, Canadien concluded, "I think actual education came second."[61] In particular, he realized that he had never been encouraged to question or challenge anything.[62] The boys would be asked to donate a portion of the money that their parents left with them to fund missionary work: "You never said no to a priest or to a Sister."[63]

Discipline was strict and at times humiliating: bed-wetters were stripped and made to stand in the bathtub with their wet clothes draped around their shoulders.[64] Albert recalled that when one boy acted up while playing a game similar to Simon Says, a sister grabbed him, dragged him across the floor, and kicked him. It looked as if she might kick him again, but the father superior walked in. After being told what had happened, he shook his head and left the room.[65] The boys would shine the floors with mitts on their feet, pretending they were skating. Once, while doing this, he bumped into another boy. For this misdemeanour one of the sisters hit him on the top of his hand with her keys, opening up a small cut.[66] Albert was just one of the former students who could recall being punished for whistling, which, he was told, might summon up the devil.[67]

Loneliness and lack of affection were endemic. "Sometimes I would put my head under the blankets and cry softly. I didn't want the other boys to hear me, and I especially did not want the Sisters to hear me, for fear they would think I was crying for nothing."[68] Albert was at school when his mother died of tuberculosis. A sister took him into the chapel. "Gently, she put her arm around me and held me. I looked up at her and saw tears in her eyes and I began to cry. It was the first and only time that a nun had shown any kind of sympathy to me."[69]

There was plenty of work for the students to do: Albert remembered hauling wood and working in the mission fields. "The planting took place just before we went home for the summer holidays, and the harvesting took place after we returned to the residential school in the fall. I guess you could say we were cheap labour for the mission."[70]

There were a few happy memories from Fort Providence: using donated skis on an improvised ski run by the barn, playing hockey with homemade sticks according

to rules that one nun remembered from her childhood, and the movies and records that arrived at the school once it began to employ lay teachers.[71] The lay teachers also introduced Scouting at the school, purchasing uniforms for the boys with their own money. "We made bone rings for the scarves we wore with uniforms. Our Boy Scout activities were a lot of fun, and a big change from the usual routine of the residential school."[72]

The boys were also allowed to set snares and traps for rabbits. "Once Tom, Fred and I skinned a rabbit that wasn't completely frozen and cooked it over a fire we had made along the riverbank on the other side of the Mission Island. That way, no one from the residential school or the mission could see the smoke from our fire. Cooking a rabbit over the fire was nothing new to us. It sure tasted good and it was just like being back home in the bush."[73]

Angus Lennie

Angus Lennie is the son of Ernistine and Johnnie Lennie, a Métis man who worked as a trapper, carpenter, and riverboat pilot on the Mackenzie River. He recalled his childhood as happy and felt he and his siblings were well taken care of. However, for reasons he did not understand, he and his brothers and sisters were placed in the Aklavik Roman Catholic school. "From a child's eyes this was a strange environment. A huge sister met us at the door and this began my journey into Residential Schools. Walking through those doors began the split of our once happy connected family."

The boys and girls were separated, and then "our clothes were taken from us. What little money we had was taken away from us. The first thing after taking our clothes, they all gave us brush cuts and put white powder on us for lice. They gave me coveralls and a number." Then he was taken to a dormitory full of children he did not know, all crying for their homes and parents.

Failing to eat the strange food, making too much noise, or not listening could lead to a student being required to stand on a bench in the corner—a punishment that students found humiliating. Angus felt that he and his fellow students were under constant surveillance. "I learned to live in fear. Fear! To be quiet, listen and follow direction. Soon I was taught 'not to think for myself' just 'listen + do' and things would be fine." All the children longed to go home; some tried to make their way back to their families, only to be returned by the RCMP. Parental visits were eagerly anticipated—all too infrequent and short.[74]

CHAPTER 5

Education for what purpose?

Until 1946, when J. W. McKinnon was appointed territorial school inspector, none of the schools in the Northwest Territories were subject to regular, professional inspection; however, a variety of government officials did provide ongoing commentary on them. Following a journey through northern Alberta and the Mackenzie region of the Northwest Territories in 1908, federal Treaty inspector H. A. Conroy wrote, "As for the schools, in my opinion they are doing good work at a very small cost of the government. It would be difficult to see how a better or cheaper policy in regard to schools could be worked out than the one in vogue."[1] Federal official F. H. Kitto wrote of the northern boarding schools in 1920, "The children are given valuable instruction in various manual arts. The girls receive training in sewing, fancy-work, cooking and general housework. The boys are instructed in building, agriculture and various other subjects. All children are taught the English language. In the senior grades of the R.C. Schools French is also taught."[2]

Again and again, however, a number of critics questioned the value of the education being provided in the schools in the Northwest Territories. A recurrent question was "For what are children being educated?" Linked to this question was whether residential schooling was making it more difficult for former students to succeed in their home communities. Both questions gave rise to a third question: "Should residential schooling be abandoned or radically modified?" If the answer to the first question was "to be Christian hunters and trappers," there was fierce disagreement over the answer to the second, as church leaders, northerners—both Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal—and government officials became increasingly skeptical about the value of boarding schools.

In the 1940s and 1950s, a number of studies and surveys of northern education led to more questioning of the benefits of residential schooling. These studies also identified community opposition to the system. Nevertheless, the policy debate was resolved, largely for economic reasons, in favour of continued residential schooling.

The debate on the effectiveness of the schools dates back to the turn of the century. In a 1900 report on education in Treaty 8 territory, Indian Affairs officer J. A. Macrae

wrote that since the First Nations people had not established "collective settlement," day schools were "out of the question," leading him to conclude, "Boarding schools, therefore, must be used if education is to be attempted." Macrae wrote that it was important that schooling be introduced not just for the benefit of the First Nations but "in order that crime not spring up and peaceful conditions be disturbed."[3] For others, the key benefit of a boarding school was that it separated the parents from the children. In 1906, Hay River principal A. J. Vale said that the students were "disposed to be more teachable and less difficult to manage than an equal number of white children when they are entirely removed from all intercourse with their relatives."[4]

Other, more cautionary opinions were soon being voiced. As early as 1913, federal official H. B. Bury worried that the schools were not fitting the children for either integration or their traditional lifestyle.[5] Four years later, Bury stated that if the purpose of the schooling at Fort Providence and Fort Resolution was to allow students to "take their place with every other Canadian citizen," the period of education was too short. However, if the goal was simply to provide enough education to "fear God, honor the King, and respect the laws of the country," the schooling was probably overly long. To ensure that students would be able to make their living as their parents had, the leaving age should be lowered from fifteen to twelve. As it was, he thought that young people who did not attend school made better hunters and trappers than graduates. He wrote that a former student was more likely to become a "loafer" and a "burden" than someone who had not gone to school.[6] This identification of residential schooling as an actual barrier to success was to be made repeatedly in coming years.

Even F. H. Kitto balanced his positive assessments of the schools with this observation:

> That the results of their schooling is frequently of a transient benefit only is no fault of the school but rather unfortunate circumstances which allows them to return to their mother tribes. Hence they are discouraged by their squalid surroundings and usually revert to their former low standard of living. Could they be provided with means of earning their livelihood under better conditions many would no doubt prove worthy citizens.[7]

Anglican Archdeacon A. L. Fleming questioned the benefit of residential schooling in the North as early as 1928:

> The boarding school would serve to make him a less successful hunter, because from the age of (say) nine the boy would be taken to a boarding school, and for the greater part of the year would be living an artificial civilized life. The general result of this would be that when he was finished with school, say between the ages of 14 and 16, he would have failed to develop as the Eskimo boys usually do develop, into a successful hunter.[8]

O. S. Finnie seconded this opinion, writing that any educational work carried out by the Department of the Interior among Inuit should not be "through established Boarding Schools." He preferred to support missionaries who would travel with the Inuit, and "teach them whenever the opportunity occurs."[9]

In 1934 the federal government physician Dr. J. A. Urquhart prepared a report titled "The Education of Eskimo and Destitute Orphan White Children," which argued for a limited, low-cost approach to education in the North. Urquhart recommended that the boys leave school at the age of twelve, since they were "not going to be absorbed into industry." He thought academic training "should be limited very much to the original 'Three R's,' and manual training, carried out as much as possible with the idea of making the schools more industrial than they are at the present." By twelve, he thought, boys should be "back home with their fathers, and learning to trap by travelling with them on the trapping line and actually under the father's supervision." The girls should be kept until they were fifteen and had learned to "sew, cook, and perform the ordinary duties of a housewife." Urquhart believed that the only way the children could "throw off" tuberculosis infection was through "a regular regime with regard to work, play, and sleep, and also must have regular meals of good, plain food, and this is only possible in a residential school. The value of this latter fact, can, I think, scarcely be overestimated."[10] Urquhart's views were given considerable weight and presented to a meeting of the Northwest Territories Council in October 1934.[11] In the end, the council decided to address the school-leaving age issue on a case-by-case basis. According to the council minutes, Harold McGill, head of the Indian Affairs Branch, said, "If boys in purely hunting and trapping districts were kept in school to 16 years of age or longer, the result was that they knew nothing about the only vocation left open to them." He also felt that "there was a natural tendency on the part of the Missions to retain children as long as possible." Therefore the question of whether a student was ready for dismissal was one that needed to "be broached in a careful manner."[12]

A. E. Porsild of the Dominion Lands Administration prepared a sharp indictment of the mission schools in 1934. When boys left the schools, they had "not been taught how to hunt and trap or how to travel and, as a future provider for a family are vastly inferior to the youths that have not been to school." In opposing mission schools, he pointed out that the state had taken over responsibility for educating Inuit in Alaska and Greenland, while in Sweden and Norway, the state provided education to the Sami (the Lapps). In all cases, he said, day schools and the use of itinerant teachers had been found to be preferable to residential schools. He also thought that the state schools had enjoyed more success than Canada's mission schools.[13]

Diamond Jenness, who by 1934 was working for the federal government, was at odds with those who thought the only future for Aboriginal people lay in a return to hunting and trapping. He recommended that young Inuit boys be sent to Churchill, Manitoba. There, they would be placed under the authority of the port's chief engineer

and trained in carpentry, motor mechanics, navigation, and telegraphy. Government hospitals in the North would be required to train at least one Inuit girl a year in nursing. He estimated the annual cost of this program as $3,600. His proposal linked a healthy and growing Inuit population to Canada's strategic interests, noting that the Inuit were in decline—having fallen from at least 24,100 at "contact" (a date he did not define) to 7,103 in 1929. If the trend continued, the Inuit would leave Victoria Island, King William Island, Boothia Peninsula, and possibly the east end of Baffin Island. If this were to happen, Canada would "lose her strongest claim to sovereignty over the northern archipelago, a sovereignty that may be extremely valuable in the year to come for air communication" (emphasis in original). His notion was that the Inuit could be used to assert Canadian sovereignty in their own lands. As Jenness noted, "No Europeans will willingly colonize Baffin Island, the northern shores of Hudson Bay, or the Arctic coast from Melville Peninsula westward."[14]

Mary McCabe taught in the Mackenzie Valley during the 1920s and 1930s, where she had the opportunity to observe that "when Mission school pupils return home their lot is not always an easy one as they are expected to return to their old way of living—cutting wood, tanning skins, packing water, driving dogs, etc., and many other things they do not learn at school. They must begin again; it takes time and they sometimes are open to ridicule by their ignorant people."[15]

In addition to the exceptionally long distances northern children had to travel to go to residential schools, officials were also aware of the substandard education northern children were receiving. A Mines and Resources memorandum on education in the Northwest Territories, written in 1939, concluded that the standard of education was "not generally as high as in the Indian schools throughout the Provinces." The mission boarding schools were not subject to any requirement to employ "teachers having provincial qualifications." Nor was there any regular inspection of the schools. It was, however, thought that the "small attendance of pupils in many cases would hardly justify the employment of professional teachers." The memorandum also concluded that the school system did not meet the needs of the growing non-Aboriginal population.[16] In short, the system was not preparing students for a return to their traditional ways of life, nor was it preparing them for anything else.

In 1942 the quality of education came under both internal and external attack. In that year O. S. Finnie's son, Richard Finnie, published *Canada Moves North*, a book that was based on his work as a writer, photographer, and filmmaker in the North.[17] Finnie drew attention to the government's neglect of the North, concluding, "No serious attempt is being made by the Northwest Territories Administration to study the problems of the Indians and Eskimos. In fact, there is no specialist on the Ottawa staff to keep in intimate touch with them."[18] Because the government was unwilling to invest in education, "the Anglican and Catholic churches continue to operate their schools and hospitals with financial assistance from the Government. They compete

with each other not only to save souls but to increase revenue."[14] In such an atmosphere, religious instruction and prayers dominated the curriculum.

> Practically everything else they are taught in the schools that may be useful to them they could learn better from their own people while living normal out-of-door lives. The 'domestic arts' which the girls are taught are rather those things they would automatically learn if they were at home—such as sewing—or are things which will be useless to them later—such as baking cakes and pies. The 'manual training' of the boys may range from tending fish nets and cutting wood for the mission to painting in water colors and weaving mats in raffia.[15]

From these schools, the children "return to their families unfitted for the lives they must lead."[16]

An RCMP official also voiced the opinion that the former students of residential schools were no better off than those young people who had not gone to school. In response, Indian Affairs education official H. A. Avery asked the school principals to provide him with a summary of their course of study and quality of education.[17] At Fort Resolution, Sister S. Laporte rejected the insinuation in the police report that "indifference ability to reading, writing, etc. on the part of our pupils is due to the course of study or the inefficiency of the teachers." She pointed out that the white students who attended the school did well when they were sent out of the territory to study at higher grades. Aboriginal students, she wrote, often entered school at a late age and had to "learn, what is to them, a foreign language," before they could proceed with their studies. Many students were twelve or thirteen when they entered boarding school in the North and, according to Laporte, few aside from orphans stayed more than three or four years. "One can readily understand, therefore, how these pupils in a very short time forget the elementary lessons learned by them during their brief sojourn in school." Turning to Avery's request for information, she said that "reading, writing, arithmetic, and personal hygiene are really the only subjects taught," although senior students might get a little history and geography. Little could be done, she wrote, in the way of providing practical training when the students spent such a short time in the schools. The girls might be taught to sew, mend, cook, and clean, but it was "difficult, if not impossible, to organize manual training for boys."[18]

Sister O. Rivoard, principal of the Roman Catholic school at Aklavik, wrote:

> Our course of study is really confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic, as is judged best by the officials of the Department at Ottawa. Geography and History are on the programme merely as reading lessons, short essays in composition and memory training for a few more advanced pupils who remain their five years in the school. We also give half an hour a day for teaching religion and half an hour three days a week for vocal music.

She took issue with the RCMP criticism:

> Not being dependent on education for earning his living, it is only natural that the Indian boy appears lazy to Arcticites. But however, in most cases, after having spent his five years in the school, he can keep his own accounts and write letters better than many white taxpayers of this country who have had more schooling outside than the Indian boy receives in this country.[37]

H. A. Shepherd, the principal of the Anglican school at Aklavik, responded that the "greater part of the time spent in the classroom is devoted" to teaching reading, writing and arithmetic. "Most of the children who attend our school stay only for three years, and in most cases I do not encourage them to remain longer."[38]

As a part of the Canadian Social Sciences Research Council's 1949 study of the Canadian Arctic, Manitoba school inspector Andrew Moore examined the educational facilities in the western Arctic. Limited by his having travelled through the region in the summer, when the schools were not in session, Moore's report depended heavily on what he was told as opposed to what he observed. He said that many of the people he encountered said:

> (1) that the Indian boys when they return to their native hands after four or five years of such schooling are not nearly as competent as trappers or in general in their natural environment as boys who never left the bands; and
>
> (2) that the boys who attended the white man's school are neither good Indians nor good whites. Some old timers claimed that the most unscrupulous and unreliable among the Indians were those boys who had attended the white man's schools.[39]

The churches' response to these charges was that while the graduates might not initially be as skilled at trapping as those who did not go to school, within a few years they were more efficient trappers.[40] The administrators claimed that some students did not return to their bands but enjoyed success elsewhere as trappers, guides, boat conveners, and interpreters. Finally, they said that those who did not earn out well got all the publicity.[41]

Moore visited all four residential schools along the Mackenzie, noting that the buildings were superior to the average rural or small town school. The premises were cleaner and better organized than many Prairie schools and the heating and ventilation were equal to those of Prairie schools. The libraries and reading material were well below Prairie standards, as was the general standard of instruction. There were only two fully qualified teachers in the Northwest Territories residential schools, both at the Anglican school in Aklavik. The educational level of the rest of the teachers was between Grade Eight and Grade Ten.[42] He noted that the "living conditions and the general environment in the North West Territories do not tend to attract the best type of teachers unless they are fired by missionary or religious zeal and of these there is an insufficient supply even at present under church auspices."[43]

The search for alternatives

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that the sort of education provided in such institutions could make it difficult for students to return to life in their home communities. To help overcome this, the school year was going to be adjusted to leave children "free to travel with their parents during the hunting and trapping seasons."[51] In short, while this report acknowledged the drawbacks of residential schooling, it laid the groundwork for the expansion of such schools in the latter half of the 1950s. As a result, residential schooling would play a major role in the post-1950 education system in the Northwest Territories, even as the role of the churches declined. Although study after study had concluded residential school was inappropriate, the number of schools was increased, largely because, for the government, residential schools were "an easy and relatively inexpensive way out" of meeting its educational obligations to Aboriginal people in the North.

CHAPTER 6

The mission era in the Yukon

One of the reasons that the federal government did not include the Yukon First Nations in any Treaty-making process is that it did not believe that the territory was likely to undergo permanent non-Aboriginal settlement. Certainly when the gold rush collapsed, the population of the Yukon went into a rapid decline. Although the Yukon had an elected territorial council and a member of Parliament by 1908, real political power lay with the federal government.[1] Throughout the first half of the twentieth century, the federal commitment to the territory dwindled. The number of judges was reduced, civil servants were laid off, and jobs consolidated. In 1932 George Jeckell, the territorial comptroller, was appointed territorial commissioner. At the time he was also serving as the head of public works, the mayor of Dawson, the income tax inspector, and the registrar of land titles. He continued as a virtual one-man government until 1947.[2]

The Klondike gold rush led to the establishment of the first school in the Yukon in 1898. No system of school districts developed in the first half of the twentieth century, and by the start of the Second World War, the only public schools were in Dawson City, Mayo, and Whitehorse. The school buildings in Whitehorse were replaced in 1950 and expanded in 1954. By that year there were also schools in Swift River, Brook's Brook, Haines Junction, Kluane Lake, and Elsa Camp. Added to these were Roman Catholic private schools in Dawson and Whitehorse.[3] These schools were largely closed to Aboriginal people. For example, in the 1940s Clara Tyzya and her husband moved from Old Crow to Dawson City to give their children a chance to attend school. On arrival they discovered that their children "were not accepted in the Dawson City schools." As a result they moved to Carcross, where they found work in the Anglican residential school that their children attended.[4]

The Anglican Church took on responsibility for much of the education provided to Aboriginal people in the Yukon before the Second World War, often establishing day schools at church missions. The number of schools fluctuated wildly: in 1916 the Anglicans were operating nine such schools; fifteen years later, only two were in operation. They were dependent on government funding and the availability of

missionaries and teachers, all scarce commodities. The fact that most Aboriginal people did not spend the entire year in a single location meant that in many cases the schools operated for only a few months at a time, often in the summer. Government inspectors were not impressed. A 1907 report suggested the schools were useless, while a report from 1926 questioned the value of supporting such schools. For their part, the missionaries came to pin their educational hopes on residential schools.[5]

The Anglicans, under Bishop William C. Bompas, opened a short-lived boarding school at Forty Mile Mission in the Yukon in 1891. It closed when Bompas moved his base of operation to Carcross (Caribou Crossing) in 1900, where he soon had established a boarding school that would serve as the forerunner to the Carcross residential school.[6] In 1923, the Anglicans opened a residence for Métis students attending school in Dawson City. When that hostel closed in the early 1950s, they opened a similar one in Whitehorse. The Anglicans did not face any competition during the first half of the twentieth century until a Baptist missionary opened a school in Whitehorse in 1947. During that time, residential school enrolment in the Yukon was never more than 150 students at any one time—and was often less. In the 1950s the federal government expanded residential schooling in Yukon, while allowing the residences and many of the schools to remain under church control. Furthermore, unlike those in the Northwest Territories, the old mission schools were not closed. A new Roman Catholic school was built at Lower Post on the Yukon–British Columbia border in 1951; the Carcross school was expanded in 1954. In the Yukon the mission school era continued, in diminished form, into the 1970s.

The Carcross school

In 1903 Bishop Bompas requested that the federal government fund a proposed residential school in Carcross. The request was rejected, but Bompas opened a boarding school that year, operating it out of two log shacks.[7] When Bompas died in 1906, the Reverend John Hawksley was made school principal, and the new bishop, Isaac Stringer, kept up the pressure for federal support.[8]

As in the Northwest Territories, the government was reluctant to extend residential schooling—or any form of schooling—to the Yukon. The notes of a 1909 Anglican meeting with Indian Affairs Minister Frank Oliver report him as saying, "I will not undertake in a general way to educate the Indians of the Yukon. In my judgment they can, if left as Indians, earn a better living."[9] Despite this rather forthright statement, in the spring of 1908, Indian Affairs instructed A. W. Vowell, the British Columbia Indian superintendent, and A. E. Green, the Indian Affairs inspector of the schools for that province, to investigate the need for a boarding school at Carcross.[10] They concluded that "the Boarding Schools are under the conditions prevailing, the most suitable for

the education of the Indians." That education should, they felt, include "reading, writing, and arithmetic, with instruction as to housekeeping, sanitary measures and, it may be carpentry." To go beyond this "would be rather to unfit them for their condition in life."[11] By the end of the year government officials and church representatives were corresponding over plans for the school.[12]

The school at Carcross, which was named the Chooutla School, opened in 1911. It received a per capita grant of $200 and had an enrolment of thirty.[13] Angela Sidney was one of the first students to attend the school.

> When we first went over to that Chooutla school, all those kids got off the cars, horse teams—we all started running around the Chooutla school first. Oh, boy, lots of fun! We thought it was a good place we're going to stay. But that's the time we found out we couldn't even talk to our brothers! We got punished if we did. And we weren't supposed to talk Indian, Tlingit. There were three of us: my cousin Sophie and my sister Dora and me. Daisy [Jim] she never went back to school again; one year was good enough for her! She never went back. She told them about the school, I guess, and her father and mother didn't want to take her back anyway.[14]

Getting and keeping the students would be an ongoing problem. In 1912, E. E. Stockton, an inspector with the federal auditor general's office, reported that when he visited the Carcross school, parents complained that "the pupils had not been receiving sufficient nourishment, and from that cause, they were developing tubercular troubles." Stockton concluded the complaints were "well founded" since the students had not been receiving "the nourishment to which they were entitled." Although the school had a cow and hens, it was selling most of the eggs and milk they produced because, according to the principal, E. D. Evans, the "children did not care for either milk or eggs." Stockton investigated and concluded, "The children were given to understand that they could not have these things and that they must say that they did not care for them." He instructed the principal to stop selling the school's eggs and milk. He noted that the local First Nations people had been "taking their children away from the school," forcing the administration to recruit from distant communities. If the school did not improve, parents would stop sending their children to the school, he warned.[15]

Angela Sidney's father was one of those parents.

> Even then, we didn't stay there for very long, because my father took us out of school when I was ten. That was because my sister died there, so my father blamed the school because they didn't get help soon enough. He took me and Johnny out of school—Johnny was in the fourth grade then, and I was in the first. I was just going to pass that spring![16]

In the early years, medical services in the Yukon were limited. Anglican Bishop Isaac Stringer recommended that the federal government station two doctors in the territory. One at Whitehorse would have responsibility for visiting the Carcross school "in events of such serious nature that the person making the request would do so even if he were compelled to pay the full expense of the visit himself."[17] In September 1913 it was reported that "little Eunice," who had been in the Whitehorse Hospital since the previous February, had died.[18] In late 1915 Ada Roberts, a Carcross student, fell ill and was taken to the Whitehorse hospital. She died there in early January 1916.[19] There was one student death at the school in 1927.[20] In 1929, the Carcross school experienced influenza and septic pneumonia epidemics, the latter resulting in the deaths of two more students.[21]

The death of a child could turn an entire community against the school. Clara Tizya, who grew up in Rampart House near Old Crow in the northwest corner of the territory, recalled:

> In the early 1920's a girl had died at Carcross Indian Residential School and when they sent the body back, there were many rumours about the children receiving bad treatment and this scared the parents or gave them an excuse for not sending their children to school. And so for the next 25 years, no children were sent out to the Carcross Indian Residential School.[22]

In 1945 parents from Old Crow were still boycotting the school and petitioning the government for a day school.[23]

In 1931 one Carcross student died of tuberculosis in the Whitehorse hospital, while another boy, suffering from the same illness, was discharged from the school. In reporting on these events to Ottawa, John Hawksley, former principal and now Indian superintendent, pointed out that the doctor on contract to Indian Affairs had certified them both as being fit to attend the school. "It would appear that the medical examination was not as thorough as it should have been. May I suggest that the Doctors in the Department's employ should be advised to be more careful in the medical examination of prospective pupils. Admission of unfit children causes trouble and expense both to the school authorities and the Department."[24]

In 1932 the Carcross school was hit by what was termed "a mild epidemic" of influenza.[25] A July 1936 inspection of the Carcross school reported that there had been a measles epidemic at the school that spring but all the students had recovered. The inspector said that students all appeared to be "happy and contented," and the school to be "clean and sanitary, the food sup[illegible]ed the children is good and all well dressed."[26]

Former students had a different assessment of the food they were served. According to one,

> They starved us up there! We got one egg a year—at Easter. The rest of the time we got dog-food mush [corn meal] and skim milk. Them in the staff dining

> room, though, they got bacon and eggs every day. We never saw fruit from one Christmas to the next, but they sure had it. Why some of those kids just starved to death. One year there was six of 'em right there at the school ... starved to death.[37]

The following timetable from 1913 gives some sense of the routine of the school:

> 6:00 The ringing of the "getting up" bell
> 6:30: Morning chores
> 7:15 Breakfast, followed by morning prayers and more chores
> 9:00 Junior students go to class
> 12:15 Dinner followed by playtime
> 2:00 Senior students go to class/junior students vocational training
> 5:30 Supper
> 6:00 Playtime
> 7:00 Evening prayers followed by lights out[38]

Staff turnover was an ongoing problem. In 1929, the principal and the teacher, the head matron, and the kitchen matron resigned. Despite this, the Carcross school could boast of the fact that two students had passed their high school entrance examination. The school inspector noted that the students were "brought up chiefly on a meat diet" and did not "thrive on a largely farinaceous [starch-rich] diet." So while he thought the school meals were wholesome, he recommended that students be served "a larger quantity of native meat."[39]

But problems soon arose again. In response to complaints from parents about the school, Indian Superintendent Hawksley travelled to Carcross in early 1931. Hawksley prefaced his report with a typical example of the colonial mind at work, reminding his superiors that "reports and rumours carried by Indians are not always reliable. Some have really wonderful imaginations and can relate a very feasible story based on the very slimmest of facts." He did acknowledge that under the previous principal the school had undergone a decline in "cleanliness, discipline, deportment of the pupils, and care of the institution generally." But he had high hopes for the new principal, H. C. M. Grant. While Hawksley thought the students were well clothed, he did admit some problems in relation to diet. He believed there was enough food, but said, "The diet is not varied enough and the pupils tire of the sameness of the meals." Furthermore, he thought the "supervision of the pupils was not all that it should have been partly due to the school being understaffed and partly to the laxity of the late Principal who certainly did not understand the nature and characteristics of the Indians."[40]

The enforcement of game regulations made it difficult for the principal to purchase moose meat in 1935. In the past the school had been allowed to purchase moose meat from any Aboriginal hunter, whether or not he had a commercial licence. By 1935, First Nations people were not being allowed to sell moose meat unless they had a $25

commercial licence. This, as an Anglican missionary representative noted, was more than "any of the Indians can afford to pay."[31]

Hawksley's confidence in the new principal, H. C. M. Grant, may have been misplaced. Eight years later Grant was put to the test by an outbreak of theft and a devastating fire. Food was stolen, as were the personal belongings of staff and school property. In addition, some students had stolen items from local residents. He responded to the thefts in 1939 with harsh discipline. The principal strapped the "culprits" and issued a warning that in the future those guilty of theft "would be laid across the classroom desk in the presence of the whole school, clad only in their night attire, and strapped on a different part of their anatomy than their hands." When the thefts continued, one boy was punished in this manner. According to the principal, "So severe was this strapping that the child had to be held down by the Head Matron and the Farm Instructor." To the principal's surprise, this did not stop the ongoing thefts. He then threatened to shave the head of any transgressor. Within days he put the threat into effect. The measure brought thieving to a halt but angered parents.[32] The fact that Grant could report this harsh punishment to Indian Affairs in 1940, forty-five years after Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Hayter Reed had ordered that "children are not to be whipped by anyone save the Principal, and even when such a course is necessary, great discretion should be used and they should not be struck on the head, or punished so severely that bodily harm might ensue," is a sign of how unregulated corporal punishment was in residential schools.[33]

In April 1939 the school building and the workshop were destroyed by fire, obliging the church to rent a number of local buildings to use as dormitories and classrooms.[34] Grant was not able to maintain the buildings in appropriate conditions—in large measure due to poor funding. In September 1942, Yukon Medical Health Officer Dr. Frederick Burns declared the Carcross school buildings "unfit for use as a residential school." He called on the government to arrange suitable alternatives by October 31, 1942. Burns thought the dormitory space needed to be doubled or the enrolment cut in half.[35] He was also concerned over the number of epidemics at the school, including a recent outbreak of measles that had left one child dead. He noted it was not possible to recruit "skilled nursing personnel" under "the present living conditions."[36] The Anglican Church recognized that conditions at the school fell short "of what we would desire," but they had to be endured during the "stress and strain of war conditions."[37] In 1944 the Anglicans decided to build a temporary school without government assistance.[38] While the building was meant to be a stopgap, it was not until 1954 that Indian Affairs replaced it.[39]

The influx of servicemen brought north by the Second World War also created problems for the Carcross school. In December 1942 two American soldiers were found in bed with two students in the girls' dormitory. They were arrested and tried by court martial.[40]

By 1906 staff members were complaining about the conditions in the temporary facility. After visiting the school, H. A. Alderwood, the acting superintendent of the Anglican Indian School Administration, wrote that it was "in a very poor condition and the standard prevailing is probably the lowest of any in our care." He noted that Principal Grant was about to undertake a medical leave and was no longer able to administer the school properly. Alderwood concluded that "the lady workers were living in intolerable conditions, but the principal did not appear to see anything wrong." As a result, three of the four were resigning.[7] Another tragedy struck in 1911, when a student, Bertha Jimmy, died of leukemia.[8]

Principal Grant may have had shortcomings, but the history of the Cameron school reveals a deeper pattern over the years. A series of problems would accumulate—parents withdrawing their children, staff members quitting in even higher numbers than usual, truancy increases, and intensifying health problems. The principal would be identified as the problem, and great expectations would be placed upon his replacement, typically a younger man with a stronger sense of discipline and drive. Within a decade the deeper problems would reappear, with the solution being to once again replace the principal.

The Anglicans put their hopes in a new principal and a new school that was constructed in 1914. Shortly after the new Cameron school opened, it suffered a serious fire in the boiler room.[9] In 1916 the new principal, C. T. Stanger, was working to transfer out a boy who, while often "polite, well mannered, pleasant, kind and is generally a good pupil," had bullied smaller boys, stolen from other students and the school, and been convicted of truancy. Owning the five years the boy had been at the school, the principal said, he had tried everything: "At first I swapped him for infractions of the rules after he failed to respond to loss of privileges [sic]. Later I encouraged him to keep busy. When he had been in trouble he lost privileges [sic] but was given useful things to do to use his energies. Lately he has been punished for bad conduct, being treated with kindness only. Still no success."

The last, unsuccessful measure to shame him into improving his behaviour had been to move him into the junior dormitory.[10] A week later the boy took off in subzero [illegible] with little clothing. He was found and returned to the school. A few days later he was transferred to the Whitehorse Indian Day School. According to the Indian superintendent, M. G. Jones, "The fact that he has relatives at this school helped considerably in his adjustment."[11]

Former students whose own children were attending the school in the late 1930s did not feel that the school had improved since their student days. One told the anthropologist Richard King about his conflict with the principal:

> They didn't feed them kids so good, you know, and I used to take my girl an orange now and then or something special, and he didn't like that. He was all the time finding out things she done and punishing her for it. There one day he really

> [illegible] and she ran away and came on down here. I went and told him she wasn't coming back and I was going to see the agent about how he was running things, but he apologized and said "Let's forget about the whole thing." So I did. But she never went back there no more.

In order to get his child into the local school, this father decided to take matters [illegible], giving up his status under the Indian Act.[3]

With its harsh climate, running away from the Carcross school was dangerous, but not unknown. On a Sunday morning in July 1936, two boys walked away from the school playground. The next morning they turned up at a railway station house fifty-two kilometres from the school. When they overheard plans being made to send them back to school, they disappeared again. The Mounted Police searched down to eight kilometres outside of Whitehorse and arranged their return.[4] In the summer of 1947, two boys attempted to raft down the Yukon River to Carmacks City. After three days they were located on the Yukon River. One of the boys had run away in the past and was regretful. The other was returned to the school.[5]

After running away from the Carcross residential school on three separate occasions, a female student was punished in 1959 by having her hair cut short. When the matter was raised by Yukon Member of Parliament Erik Nielsen, the Indian superintendent explained that the girl's hair "was not cut any shorter than it normally is when the children are admitted to the school." The superintendent reported that after speaking to the girl, the only reason he could determine for her running away was the fact that "her mother would prefer having them at home, to help out, and help about the home."[6]

In 1969 the government built a large Protestant residence in Whitehorse, and the older students were transferred there. Carcross became the main boarding school for First Nations students in Canada's Geo to Three.

There was always uncertainty as to what the Carcross school was training students for. It made little sense to train Aboriginal children to farm north of the sixtieth parallel. Nor were there factories or workshops in which the students might work if they had the training. The compromise was to provide students with training that was thought to be of use to them in their home communities. Along with general carpentry, Carcross students were given lessons in hunting and fishing. As to the girls, the girls were prepared for domestic work.[7] Earlier in the century, the school had produced a typical school newsletter.[8] One former student worked as a typesetter in Whitehorse for many years while another found employment as a janitor/caretaker with a railway.[9] Another young man, though, was just as successful in a traditional career. With his father's encouragement, he quit the school and learned to hunt and fish, making a thriving living providing game to the railway, the school, and miners.[10] From the beginning, there were worries that former students would not be able to fit into their home societies. Eight years after the school opened, an Aboriginal woman

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

of Indian people in the Yukon."[101] But neither were the Anglicans. At one point, the Anglican bishop indicated:

> We are now willing to co-operate with the 'Baptists' unless there is no other way of maintaining contact with our native children whom we have been caring for over a long period of time. One of the difficulties of any co-operation with the 'Baptists' is that they are not, so far as I know, members of any Baptist Federation nor are they members of the Canadian or World Council of Churches. They are simply a sect.[102]

While the Anglicans did not win this battle, they did succeed in having the federal government agree to have all Protestant students in Grades One to Three educated at the Carcross school. This prompted the Baptists to keep their Whitehorse school and residence in operation for younger students.[103] However, Indian Affairs refused to provide funding for this initiative.[104] It would appear that the conflict between the Anglicans and the Baptists undermined Lee's tenure as head of Yukon Hall, as the new Whitehorse non-denominational residence was called. Four months after it opened, the federal government had to appoint a new officer-in-charge. It chose a man who was neither Baptist nor Anglican: Ivan Robson was the former principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario.[105] By 1962 Lee was working for Indian Affairs in British Columbia.[106]

The opening of the hostels in Whitehorse marked the beginning of the end of the missionary period in the Yukon. Students from the Yukon continued to attend Carcross school until 1965, and the Catholic Lower Post, British Columbia, school until 1975.[107] (The post-1960 history of these schools is covered in the next sections of this volume.) However, from the 1960s onward it was governments, first federal and then territorial, rather than churches that determined the future of residential schooling in the Yukon.

The missionary period in northern residential school history stretched back to the 1860s. It was characterized from the beginning to the end by fierce inter-denominational conflict. Because governments had been reluctant to provide any sort of educational services to Aboriginal people in the North, the impact of the missionary schools was restricted. They were largely limited to the Mackenzie Valley and portions of the Yukon Territory. The overriding goal of the schools was the conversion and religious education of the students: little consistency or clarity existed as to any other educational goals. Indeed, concerns were often raised that young people who had *not* gone to school but had been raised by their families were better prepared for life in the North. As in southern schools, discipline was harsh and the diet limited, and living conditions were often precarious. By the 1950s, the federal government had decided to replace the mission schools—most of which were in serious disrepair—with a series of government-run hostels and day schools. The missionary era would give way to a new administrative regime in coming years.

Bureaucrats replace missionaries: Residential schooling in the North after 1950

Introduction

Before the 1950s there was little in the way of formal education for Aboriginal people in any part of the Canadian North. What did exist had been created by missionaries. Small residential schools operated in Carcross and Whitehorse in the Yukon, in three communities in the Mackenzie River Valley in the western Northwest Territories, and in small communities along the shore of Labrador. These mission schools had long histories: the Catholic school in Fort Providence was founded in 1867, and the Moravians' educational activity in Labrador dated back to the late eighteenth century.

In the 1950s, in the wake of significant oil and mineral finds in the Northwest Territories, the federal government sought to assert its political authority over the Canadian North. A significant element in this assertion was the establishment of a series of student hostels and associated day schools. These changes marked the end of the mission period of residential schooling in the North, and the dawn of an age of governmental control.

The federal government chose to employ this residential school model in the North at the same time that it was committed to closing its southern residential schools. By this time, the government was also well aware of the many problems associated with residential schooling. The student experience of residential schooling in the North resembled that of Aboriginal students in all other parts of the country. Students were separated, often by great distances, from family, language, community, and culture. The education they received failed to prepare them to succeed either in the wage economy or in a return to life on the land. The students were not adequately supervised, were placed at risk at a vulnerable point in their lives, were subject to bullying, and, most seriously, were easy targets for sexual predators.

The pace and impact of this change varied across the North. In areas such as the Yukon and the Mackenzie Valley region of the western Northwest Territories, there was considerable continuity between the new policies and the old. New institutions were being constructed, but while they were owned by the government, church officials retained responsibility for the day-to-day management of the facilities. Most of the

children who went to these schools were likely to be the children of parents who had attended residential school themselves.[1]

The situation was very different in the eastern Arctic and northern Québec (contemporary Nunavut and Nunavik). In these regions, the introduction of residential schooling was part of a series of dramatic and traumatic changes. This was in the homeland of most of Canada's Inuit population. The hostel and school system was imposed on them with no consultation, by people who did not speak their language. Few parents had any experience of schools, and the residences were often located thousands of kilometres from their homes. They had no opportunity to see where their children would be living or to keep in contact with them once they left. The building of a series of small hostels in communities in the eastern Arctic and northern Québec hastened the process by which the Inuit shifted from a world of close to one thousand migratory communities to inhabiting fewer than one hundred year-round settlements. Government planners had expected that families would place their children in the hostels and still spend part of the year on the land themselves. Instead, families settled in communities year-round to be near their children. Other government policies, particularly those related to family allowances, housing, and health care, accelerated this process.[2]

For the Inuit students who were sent out of their home regions, almost every aspect of life was different and strange—and all too often traumatic. At the same time, the region was dealing with the impact of a widespread tuberculosis epidemic. A third of the Inuit population is thought to have been infected with tuberculosis in the 1950s. A common form of treatment was removal to sanatoria in southern Canada: in 1956 the largest concentration of Inuit people in the entire country was the 332 Inuit in the Mountain Sanatorium in Hamilton, Ontario. In that year over 1,500 Inuit were undergoing often lengthy treatment for tuberculosis.[3] In Labrador (contemporary Nunatsiavut) the federal government sought to avoid responsibility for Aboriginal people. As a result, it did not extend the hostel and day school model in this region. The Newfoundland government also neglected the region. As a result, the missionary era of residential schooling continued into the 1970s in Labrador.

There are two distinct periods to the era of governmental control in most of northern Canada. Before 1969, the federal government oversaw the educational system for Aboriginal people in the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Arctic Québec. It was then that the hostel and day school system was established. During this period, the Yukon and the Northwest Territories were governed by southerners who had been appointed by the federal government. In 1969 much of the responsibility for Aboriginal education was transferred to the territorial governments. In northern Québec during the 1970s, responsibility for education was transferred to an Aboriginal school board as a result of the 1975 James Bay Agreement. Local control of education in communities with large Aboriginal populations contributed to the eventual demise of residential schooling in the post-1969 era.

CHAPTER 7

The federal government rethinks its northern policy

Two factors distinguish the federal government's residential school policy for Inuit and northern First Nations people from earlier residential school policies in the South. The first was the relatively late start and rapid implementation of these schools. It was not until 1955 that the federal government took the lead in developing an extensive residential school program in the North. Before this time the federal government had limited itself to providing some financial aid to church-run residential schools. In the 1950s there were eight such church-run schools: four along the Mackenzie River in the Northwest Territories, one in Carcross and two in Whitehorse in the Yukon, and one in Lower Post in northern British Columbia. The second distinguishing feature of this policy was the dramatic increase in the number of Inuit children in residential institutions. As late as 1949, only 111 Inuit were receiving full-time schooling in the North. Twelve were attending a federal day school in Kuujjuaq (Fort Chimo) in northern Québec, eight were at the Anglican residential school at Fort George, Québec, and ninety-one were at the two residential schools in Aklavik, Northwest Territories.[1]

Before the 1940s northern Canada remained relatively unimportant to the federal government's principal goal of expanding and protecting the Canadian state. While Hudson's Bay Company personnel, Anglican and Catholic missionaries, and a few interested scientists and explorers had visited and lived in the North since the late nineteenth century, the government's main representatives in the North before the Second World War were members of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP).[2] The government had no concrete policy about how the vast region north of the sixtieth parallel (from the Yukon to northern Québec) should be governed and administered. This lack of policy meant that unlike Aboriginal peoples in most of Canada, northern Aboriginal peoples received little attention and assistance from Ottawa before the 1940s.[3] In the 1930s the federal government refused to accept any responsibility for the welfare of Inuit in Québec, arguing that since they were not "Indians," they were a provincial responsibility. In 1939 the Supreme Court of Canada resolved this issue in favour of Québec, ruling that Inuit were "Indians" and that therefore, under the *British*

North America Act, their well-being throughout the country was a responsibility of the federal government.[4]

The combination of the Second World War and the Cold War changed Canada's role in the North. Following the attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941, the American military created a system of airfields connecting Edmonton to Alaska. This was followed by the construction of the Alaska Highway between northern British Columbia and Alaska, via the Yukon Territory. Completed in two years, this road, like the fur trade routes of the nineteenth century, brought both new opportunities and new stressors, including disease, to northern Aboriginal populations.[5] The American military also had a presence in the eastern Arctic. During the early 1940s, American forces built and maintained airfields or weather stations at a variety of northern locations including Kuujjuaq, Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), Churchill, and Coral Harbour (on Southampton Island). The Canadian military had limited involvement in or control over these American projects.[6] The United States also funded the construction of the Canadian Oil Pipeline (commonly referred to as the Canol Pipeline). After tremendous cost overruns the pipeline was closed in 1945, thirteen months after it opened. Its legacy was a scarred and littered landscape.[7] In line with its pre-war northern policy, the Canadian government seemed uninterested in regulating American intrusion into the North. The American presence continued after the end of the war. As the tensions of the Cold War increased, the Americans, with Canadian help, repositioned their defence systems in the North. Instead of bolstering defences in the western Arctic, military strategists turned their attention to defending southern Canada and the United States from air attacks originating in the Soviet Union via the North Pole. Between 1945 and the 1950s, the American and Canadian militaries built a series of weather stations and air defence stations in the North. More significantly, beginning in 1955, three lines of radar stations were constructed, the Distant Early Warning system being the most significant. Known as the DEW Line, and stretching from Alaska across northern Canada to Greenland, these radar stations became sites of contact between the Inuit and the relatively isolated military personnel.[8]

The increased military presence in the North pushed the Canadian government to recognize its responsibility to the Inuit. As a federal government report observed in 1955, the war brought the problems of the northern peoples more "forcefully to the attention of the Government and of the country as a whole."[9] These concerns for the Inuit, along with Canada's growing concern for military defence and its interest in the natural resources of the North, led to a wave of postwar government activity. The symbolic start of this new era of bureaucratic control was Prime Minister Louis St. Laurent's announcement in 1953 that his government would create, for the first time, a government department, Northern Affairs and National Resources, under the direction of Jean Lesage. The department was charged with creating a coherent and consciously centralized policy to modernize the North and its people.

Politically the North was, in essence, an internal Canadian colony. In the Northwest Territories, for example, executive power was vested in a southern-based commissioner appointed by Ottawa who, between 1921 and 1953, was the deputy minister of the federal department that administered federally owned natural resources. Over the years there were the departments of the Interior (1921 to 1936), Mines and Resources (1936 to 1945), Resources and Development (1945 to 1953), and Northern Affairs and National Resources (1953 to 1966). The commissioner was a powerful departmental official and the territorial staff were his direct subordinates. The commissioner presided over the Council of the Northwest Territories.

Until 1951 the council members were all federal government appointees, drawn from the upper ranks of the federal civil service. Their meetings were held in Ottawa. In 1951 the government allowed for the election of three councillors from constituencies in the Mackenzie River Valley. The government continued to appoint the remaining five council members. Further elective seats were added in 1966, including the first members for Inuit constituencies. Administrative and legislative functions were slowly being transferred from Ottawa to the North: in the western Arctic, a small administrative office in Fort Smith (1921) and a town council in Yellowknife (1940) added a thin layer of local government, and eventually the seat of government moved from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967, although the head of government of the Northwest Territories was still an appointed commissioner, with his deputy commissioner, and two assistant commissioners, both former [illegible] officers. The year 1975 was the last in which appointed members sat in the Legislative Assembly. However, the appointed commissioner still held on to the key executive functions of the territory — government, finance, and personnel — until the mid-1980s. These gradual changes followed the move of the government from Ottawa to Yellowknife in 1967. Even today the Northwest Territories is still in the transition phase of assuming control from the federal government of its own non-renewable resources. Nunavut still does not have full authority over its natural resources.

The Yukon was also governed for many decades by an appointed commissioner and a council that contained a mix of appointed and elected members. The equivalent of a territorial cabinet was established in 1909, but the majority of members were appointed members of the council. It was not until 1978, when the Yukon introduced political parties into its territorial government model (replacing the no-party consensus system that still exists in the Northwest Territories and Nunavut), that the commissioner's role was transformed into one similar to that of a provincial lieutenant-governor, and the first majority party in the legislature was granted authority to form the territorial cabinet.[9]

A new policy for the Northwest Territories

The change in policy for the North, particularly for the Northwest Territories, was heralded in a series of articles between the spring of 1951 and the spring of 1952 in the *Beaver*, a magazine published by the Hudson's Bay Company. Because the government presence in the eastern Arctic, the homeland of most of Canada's Inuit, had been limited up to that point, these articles highlighted the differing opinions about the degree to which Inuit should undergo cultural change.[1] Organizing weekly author-polyphony, miniseries, and his readers, and concluding with an article by Jean Lesage himself, the series presented case studies on "the dilemma confronting western man in his dealings with primitive peoples," each of which was designed to "contribute to the discussion at present taking place in this country involving the fast-moving developments in Canada's own northland."[2] The series reveals that there was significant tension among these writers about the fate of "primitive" peoples, and the Inuit in particular, in the face of the expanding frontier of modernity. Although all contributors agreed that "primitive" peoples, as they were then described, inevitably changed during their interactions with modern societies and economies, and that this change was generally a positive development, there was considerable disagreement about the degree to which such groups could or should be allowed to retain their cultural practices and their cultural identity.

In general the anthropologists writing in the series, including Margaret Mead in an article on the South Pacific, argued that the integration of "primitive people" into modern society needed to be rapid and complete. For Mead and others like her, the "primitive culture" and identification with that culture should and would be completely absorbed by the "dominant" modern culture, through intermarriage, government education schemes, or participation in the modern economy.[3]

Oswald Marsh, the Anglican Bishop of the Arctic, explained that what the government needed to do in the North was create a system of education that would "provide the Eskimos with an education whereby they may be prepared to meet the white man's ways, and at the same time be able to live in [a] native fashion."[4]

In the last article in the series, Jean Lesage attempted to balance the need to modernize the North with the value of preserving Inuit culture. Lesage had spent the summer of 1950 visiting the North, assessing the desirability of extending education to the Inuit and First Nations in the region and the possible ways of doing so.[5]

There were three central themes in Lesage's article. First, it was for the benefit of the Inuit and the Canadian nation that the North and the Inuit become integrated into modern Canada. "The objective of Government policy is relatively easy to define," he wrote; "it is to give the Eskimos the same rights, privileges, opportunities, and responsibilities as all other Canadians, to enable them to share fully the national life of Canada."[6] He dismissed the "sentimentalists" who argued that the "Eskimo for left

governments the small hostel was for "8 to twelve children of elementary school age, normally supervised by an Eskimo or Indian couple." The large hostel was to have "usually 100 or more beds, associated with large elementary or elementary-secondary schools, administered by a staff employed either by the contracting Church authorities or by the Federal Government on a continuing basis."[32]

In practice, the large hostels came to be dominated by students in higher secondary grades and in vocational programs, while the small "family-type" residences were almost all out of use by 1970. In 1967-68, Indian Affairs and Northern Development's annual report noted that the department's northern superintendency had designed "for construction at various locations" a "new standard 12 pupil hostel."[33]

As the new hostels and day schools opened, the old residential schools closed. Fort Resolution closed in 1957.[34] The two residential schools in Yellowknife closed in 1959 when the hostels opened.[35] The Fort Providence school, which had opened in 1867, closed in 1960.[36] By 1963 seven new hostels had been constructed in the western Arctic with a combined capacity of approximately 1,200.[37] The Anglicans were to administer Stringer Hall in Inuvik, Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson, and Bompas Hall in Fort Simpson. The Roman Catholics were to administer Grollier Hall in Inuvik, Laporte Hall in Fort Simpson, and Breynat Hall in Fort Smith.[38] In addition, Turquetil Hall on Hudson Bay had a capacity of seventy students.[39] In 1968 the Churchill Vocational Centre opened with an initial capacity of 100.[40] By 1969 the boarding system in the Northwest Territories would accommodate 1,325 students.[41]

This was a significant departure from what senior bureaucrats had envisioned. Hugh Faulkner, who became the deputy minister of Mines and Resources and commissioner of the Northwest Territories in 1947, had wished to see northern education delivered on a non-denominational basis. Church pressure on the governing Liberal Party had led to the compromise that was developed.[42]

Some federal officials, such as W. G. Brown, the superintendent of schools for the Mackenzie Region, saw the church involvement as a betrayal of principle and took a strong stand. In 1957 he wrote a lengthy letter to his superiors outlining his objections. He started out by arguing that hostels should be "a last educational resort and be intended only for children who are so neglected or isolated that schooling would otherwise be impossible." Those hostels that were established should, in his opinion, be operated by the government "and no religious distinction shown whatsoever in their operation." His preference, though, was for the establishment of government-run secular day schools wherever possible. For those children who lived in truly isolated conditions, he recommended that, rather than sending the children to hostels, the government should hire itinerant teachers. This would allow children to "live with their parents and still be taught." He went on to oppose the decision to hire only Catholic teachers at Fort Smith, recommending that the church be "divorced from all aspects of the organization and administration of this school." He was also opposed

to the policy of establishing separate Protestant and Anglican wings for the schools in Fort Simpson and Inuvik (at the time his letter was written, Inuvik was referred to simply as East Three, indicating its location on that branch of the Mackenzie River Delta). The concluding lines of his letter were harsh. He believed that the churches "must no longer retain their crippling and demoralizing influence on the educational program of the North." If Northern Affairs did not proceed on the basis of the approach he outlined, Winter said, he could not continue in his position.[36] When the government did not change its policy, Winter resigned.[37]

The Yukon

Similar education policies were implemented in the Yukon. The territory was distinctive in the North for having a non-Aboriginal majority population, in large part because of the Klondike gold rush of the 1890s and later the wartime opening of the Alaska Highway, which connected Yukon with the South. With approximately half the territory's population living in Whitehorse, services were concentrated there, especially after it replaced Dawson City as the capital in 1952. While Aboriginal people accounted for between 25% and 30% of the territorial population, the percentage was much higher in the outlying communities and remains so today.[38]

As late as 1985 there were only six schools and fourteen teachers in the territory. They taught fewer than 450 students. During the 1980s there were two residential schools: the Anglican school at Carcross and the Baptist day school and residence in Whitehorse. In 1951, a Roman Catholic residential school opened in Lower Post, British Columbia, located on the Yukon-British Columbia border. It drew students from both northern British Columbia and the Yukon.[39]

Before 1950 the territorial government left responsibility for students with status under the *Indian Act* to Indian Affairs. Aside from the residential schools, the Anglican Church operated day schools for First Nations students in Old Crow, Moosehide, and Mayo. Similar Roman Catholic day schools operated in Snag, Burwash Landing, Carmacks, and Ross River. By 1957 First Nations students accounted for only 79 of the 1,758 students attending territorially supported schools.

In 1956, an internal Northern Affairs and National Resources memorandum on education in the Yukon noted that Indian Affairs was considering constructing a hostel in a new subdivision in Whitehorse to replace the Baptist residential school. Northern Affairs official E. E. Cunningham recommended, "The children who are to be housed in this hostel should attend either the Whitehorse Public School, or the Whitehorse Roman Catholic School. We think it of the utmost importance that there be no segregation in classrooms of Indian and non-Indian children." The memorandum further proposed that "during the next five years education in grades 9 through 12 should be

provided only at Whitehorse."[51] That same year Catholic Bishop J. L. Coudert lobbied Ottawa for support in establishing a Roman Catholic hostel in Whitehorse. It was felt that students leaving the Lower Post school, which went only to Grade Eight, lacked the training they needed "to compete with their white neighbours." While living in the proposed Catholic hostel in Whitehorse, they could study at "the vocational training schools, which the government of the Yukon proposes to establish."[52]

The major change came in 1960 with the opening of two hostels in Whitehorse. Students from these hostels attended public and private (Roman Catholic) schools in Whitehorse. The Yukon Hostel housed Protestant First Nations students, while the Whitehorse Hostel (later Coudert Hall) housed Catholic First Nations students. The initial enrolment at the Yukon Hostel was 86; by the 1965–66 school year it was 109. The initial enrolment at the Whitehorse Hostel was forty-five; by the 1965–66 school year it was sixty-seven.

The opening of the two hostels in Whitehorse was coupled with the closing of the Baptist school and residence in that community. However, the Carcross and Lower Post schools remained in operation. In the 1965–66 school year, the Carcross school had 110 students in Grades One to Four, while the Lower Post school had 152 pupils in Grades One to Six. After graduating from these schools, students were transferred to either Watson Lake or Whitehorse. With the opening of new territorial-run day schools, G. R. Cameron, the commissioner for the Yukon, thought that it was only a matter of time before the Carcross school closed. The expansion of the number of territorial day schools had already led to the closure of the church-run day schools in the territory, and by 1965 there were 489 First Nations students attending territorial-run day schools (176 students would have been living in the two Whitehorse residences).[53]

While the hostels in the Northwest Territories were operated under the authority of Northern Affairs and the department stressed that they were open to all school-aged children in the territories, the Yukon hostels were under the authority of Indian Affairs and admission was more restricted. In 1961 Indian Affairs informed the Yukon Department of Welfare that it would accept up to six to ten non-Indian students, providing either the territory or Northern Affairs subsidized the spaces.[54]

By 1960 the system that had been proposed in 1955 was in place. It would be administered by the federal government for the following nine years. At the end of that period, the federal government transferred responsibility for First Nations education in the Yukon to the Yukon territorial government and responsibility for the hostels in the Northwest Territories to the Northwest Territories government. The transfer to territorial control lead to the gradual dismantling of the hostel system in the North. Most of the small hostels were no longer in operation by the 1970s. The large hostels, however, remained in place.

CHAPTER 8

The federal day schools

Large and small hostels were built near federal day schools. They were funded by the federal government, and operated in concert with the day schools. In each community, the hostel and the school were intended to form a two-part complex or campus that provided what one observer called a "total educational experience" comprising classroom learning and residence life.[1] In this model, the classroom learning would provide the theoretical lessons about modernity and life in Canada, and the hostel would make these lessons concrete. As one government-appointed expert observed of the hostel-school relationship in 1965, "A good hostel environment ... can complement the social teachings of the school and give reality to what in the school can be mere theoretical exercise [sic] in idealism."[2]

The federal day schools were a key part of the hostel program. For the most part, the federal schools emphasized two central elements: English-language training, and the values, skills, and knowledge embedded in the curriculum of southern Canadian schools. Thus, for students sitting in these classrooms, the school day was quite literally marked by exposure to the language and images of elsewhere.

Curriculum

In his 1947 presentation to the Special Joint Committee of Parliament studying the *Indian Act*, J. W. McKinnon, who had been appointed inspector of schools for the Northwest Territories in 1946, said:

> Ultimately we must have our own curriculum for the schools in the Northwest Territories. Since this area has problems that are particularly its own, we cannot meet the educational needs of its residents by adhering to curricula prepared for entirely different localities and transplanted there. So far as the Indian children are concerned, they must be educated for better living, taught how to save money, how to follow clean health habits, how to make better homes, and how to secure their livelihood other than by fishing and hunting. The aim must be to make the Indian self-supporting with an adequate standard of living.[3]

Despite this early recognition of the need for a northern curriculum, the schools continued to use southern curricula. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s there was no centralized push from officials in Ottawa to adapt curriculum in a thorough manner. While Jean Lesage and his successors continued to promise the creation of a more appropriate northern curriculum, through the period from 1955 to the 1970s, Inuit and other northern students were almost exclusively taught a curriculum developed for southern schools, and using southern materials. Between 1958 and 1965, every annual report of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources promised that a "special curriculum" was being "developed" for the North but explained that in the short term the department would continue to use a southern curriculum, taught in English in its northern schools.[4]

In the early 1960s, the American anthropologist Richard King taught at the Carcross, Yukon, school for a year as part of a research project. In the book that he wrote based on this experience, he noted that neither the British Columbia *Programme of Studies for Elementary Schools* nor the Yukon *Manual for Teachers* contained "any reference to Indian children or Indian schools." No teacher at the school had received any special training in how to teach Aboriginal children.[5] Record keeping was minimal.

> None of the prescribed diagnostic or achievement tests had been given to the children at any level. Indeed, the information on students' permanent record cards was scanty and confusing. Many children had completed grades with satisfactory marks, but had then been overlooked and required to repeat that grade the following year. Other children had been at the school one or two years before any card was made or any record kept of their attendance. Still others had unexplained gaps of a year in their record cards.[6]

The only record that existed for one girl, who had been in the school for eight years, was "one sheet of grade scores."[7]

Staff turnover in the schools was very high. At the Carcross school in the year that King taught, there were five teachers; only one had been at the school for more than one year.[8] Teachers had little training as to what to expect when they came north. Ivan Mouat, a long-time education official in the Northwest Territories, wrote in 1970:

> Teacher turnover is a problem in the Arctic District. Rarely a teacher stays more than two years in a settlement and many stay only one year. There have been cases where a teacher refused to leave the aircraft when it reached the isolated centre; the local school did not open until a replacement had been recruited. Some, who have not been able to endure the isolation, have had to be removed. The policy now is to send in two teachers to a new school whether the enrolment warrants it or not.[9]

Students were taught the Alberta curriculum in the Mackenzie District, the Manitoba curriculum in the Keewatin District, the Ontario curriculum in the eastern

Arctic, and the Québec Protestant curriculum in Arctic Québec (Nunavik).[10] As late as 1987, the educational consultant Roger LeFrancois told a territorial commission studying First Nations education, "The British Columbia curriculum is administered in Yukon. The orientation of the curriculum is largely urban, middle class and caucasian." Where more versatile materials and programs had been developed, they were mostly being made available in larger centres, not in those where First Nations people formed a large part of the population.[11]

The schoolbooks that the students read usually featured issues and examples more appropriate to living in a southern, urban setting. Ann Meldrum, a school principal in Kangirsuk (Payne Bay), Québec, reported in 1960 that "the only books and workbooks, in any quantity, are the Dick and Jane series."[12] Compounding this southern approach and content was the emphasis teachers placed on the connection to the British Commonwealth and monarch, and to the Canadian nation. For Inuit children, many of whom had grown up in remote camps or locations along the Distant Early Warning (DEW) Line, the focus on foreign knowledge and concepts of nationhood in the classroom was clearly out of step with their experience and background.

While Northern Affairs did little to develop a northern curriculum, it did focus on the provision of vocational training. Schools at Yellowknife and Churchill were given a special mandate to fill this need, with the former offering vocational training to Inuit and First Nations people from the western Arctic, and Churchill serving Inuit in the East and in northern Québec.[13] Among the vocational training available at Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife were courses in building construction, full-time mechanics, heavy-duty equipment operation, home economics, and trades required for employment with the Northern Canada Power Commission Project.[14]

According to the Northern Affairs annual report for 1966–67 at the Churchill Vocational School:

> The senior boys built and completely finished a five-room house during the year, including the electrical, plumbing and heating installations. All the pupils spend one-half of their time studying the academic subjects related to their prevocational training. The laboratories for the girls' program are located in the classroom wing. The girls' program includes typing, office practice, food preparation, child care, dress-making, beauty culture and home management courses. In order to provide realistic work experience, arrangements were made through the co-operation of the Manitoba Hospital Commission and the CNIB Catering Services to have all the senior girls given on-the-job training as hospital ward aides and as food services assistants.[15]

At Inuvik, with two residences that had a total capacity of 500, vocational training was limited to home economics for girls and shop-work for boys.[16]

Attendance

Even the school year was out of step with life in the North. From 1960 the Northern Affairs policy was to vary the school year if there was agreement from local leaders, the principal, and the area administrator. As the director of the Northern Administration Branch noted, "Many of our smaller schools and some of our medium sized ones suffer seriously from poor attendance in May and June because of children accompanying parents on hunting and fishing trips for periods of up to two to three months." In Deline (Fort Franklin), in an attempt to address the issue, the school was closed in 1960 from mid-May or early June to early August. It also closed from November 4 to January 2. By 1963 it was operating on a traditional school schedule: according to the principal, it was no longer the case that entire families went on the spring hunt, while in the fall fewer boys were accompanying their fathers trapping.

However, the director wrote, it was very difficult to get families to bring their children to school immediately upon their return to the community at the end of the spring hunt. "They regard the summer months as a period of freedom and many have made it quite clear that they do not wish their children to attend school in August." It was also very hard to conduct classes during periods of near twenty-four hours of daylight, when "communities are active on a twenty-four hour basis." One year two teachers at Uluqsaqtuuq (Holman Island) travelled with families on the spring hunt. At Chesterfield Inlet the holidays were from May 15 to August 15 to allow students to get home before the spring breakup.[17]

Language of Instruction

English was the language of education. In 1965, in response to Catholic criticism of the prominence that English played in Inuit education, senior Northern Affairs official R. A. J. Phillips explained, "We have far too few teachers with a command of the Eskimo language to make it possible to teach the language, and we still must wait several years before there is a body of Eskimos who have had sufficient education to pursue teaching careers." It was also argued that denial of knowledge of one of the country's national languages would relegate coming generations of Inuit to second-class citizenship.[18]

In 1959 E. W. Lyall, a Hudson's Bay Company official at Taloyoak (Spence Bay) in the Northwest Territories, wrote to Northern Affairs official I. V. Jacobson on behalf of parents attending school in Inuvik.

> I believe the regulations at the School in Inuvik is that none of the children are allowed to talk, read, or write in their own language; this I think is shocking, in the first place it would be an awful crime if the Eskimo lost their very fine art of

> writing, in the second place the parents of these children would always like to hear from their son or daughter, how will they be able to do this if they forget how to write or read in Eskimo?
>
> I for one think there should be something done about this, as you know in 1953 I sent three of my children to the Anglican School in Aklavik. When they came home none of them could speak Eskimo at all. Two years ago I sent another of my boys to Aklavik to School he had a wonderful command of the Eskimo language and could write it fluently his mother who speaks only in Eskimo made him promise to keep writing her every chance he got, for a year he was writing her all the time, you can imagine how pleased she was in getting a letter which she could understand, but last winter he wrote her a letter in Eskimo so badly written she could not make head or tail of half the letter, on the end of his letter he wrote, "I am forgetting how to write in Eskimo now as we are only taught English." She was heart broken.

I *still* recommended that the children be provided with "a couple of lessons a week" in their own language *and* be required to send a letter home once a week. While it was "a very good idea of teaching the Eskimo the ways of the White man," he added, "What is going to become of the ones who have to go back to their own land and make a living of it?"[31]

A Northern Affairs official responded that he could "well understand that the teachers at Inuvik in their attempt to familiarize the Eskimo pupils with the English language are discouraging them from speaking Eskimo at the school." He added that he disapproved of any school policy that prevented them from communicating with their parents in their own language at home. It was recommended that someone be hired to provide students with "training in the use of the Eskimo language and to ensure that they write regular letters to their home in the Eskimo language."[32] Some schools made modest efforts at providing some education in Aboriginal languages. At Chesterfield Inlet in 1959, Northern Affairs gave approval for the hiring of Rosalie Igoptak to teach syllabics at Tunguvik Hall one hour a day, five days a week.[33]

Some teachers did try to adapt the English-language southern curriculum for their Inuit students. For example, a teacher at the federal day school at Tuktoyaktuk helped her students create a booklet of stories written by students about their community, and a teacher in Arctic Bay wrote and sang songs about the local landscape.[34] Even in this adapted form, however, English was the dominant language, while the form of the songs and the stories remained Euro-Canadian: songs were sung in English and accompanied by guitar, and local stories were written in English and bound in books.[35]

In 1957 the Oblate missionary J. M. Buteau-Blyr wrote that a recent visit to the North had done nothing to

> dispel my impression that no place is envisaged in the schools for the Eskimo language, even if Mackenzie teachers have just received instructions to

> [illegible] Eskimo to Englishness. Last winter in a Philip Ray school, I myself heard an Eskimo assistant, a young woman, tell children who were talking together: 'Don't speak Eskimo here!' ... and this was not in Ross River.[illegible]

In 1967, R. A. J. Phillips, the former director of the Northern Administration Branch, defended the schools' language policies against charges of "cultural genocide." Northern Affairs, he wrote, regarded itself as "the most effective protector of the Eskimo cultural tradition. It is prepared to use the local language in the lower grades, but as a matter both of principle and practicality it is heavily committed to English. It is a matter of principle because a liberal education can be achieved only by the use of a single language."[10]

Although many students who attended hostels said that they were allowed to speak Aboriginal languages in the hostels, there was a report in 1963 that one student from Inuvik Lake had had her mouth taped shut for speaking Dogrib at Grollier Hall.[11]

Margaret Leishman, who lived in both Lapointe Hall and Grollier Hall, had strong memories of students being punished for speaking Aboriginal languages.

> I travelled to school so that I didn't have to bother with them, you know, and I saw a lot of my schoolmates getting ... Whenever we spoke Slavey language, we did that all the time anyways, but when we were caught, you know, they were punished for speaking their language, because we need to communicate with each other because in our tradition, that's how we communicate to share our words and there, you didn't ... you were not allowed to do that. So that was really, really hard for us, and I saw a lot of my friends being punished, you know, especially by the Sisters where they take a stick or ruler and they just hit them over the head and things like that. Again, I saw a lot of ... I saw a lot of things in the whole time I lived and my sisters and my brothers did too, you know.[12]

In 1964, Northern Affairs reviewed its language policy for the hostels. Up until that point the policy had been "to encourage and promote the use of English in pupil residences and in as many out-of-school situations as possible." The policy document noted that "native languages are still widely used in residences" and that children are encouraged to write their parents, usually making use of their "native language." While there was no plan to ban Aboriginal languages in the residences, the policy decision was to "continue our present policy of encouraging a wider use of English outside of the classrooms rather than planning a program for wider use of the native languages." There was, however, an expectation that in coming years, Aboriginal languages would be taught in the schools.[13]

R. G. Williamson, a member of the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly, raised concerns about the lack of Inuit language training at the Churchill Vocational Centre (CVC) in 1970. He said he had been told that an Inuit language program conducted by Roger Briggs, an Anglican minister, for forty minutes a week for six weeks

[illegible] the province [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

and according to local day school they gradually pick up cultureless training from the parents to at least know how to trap, hunt, and fish. Children who spend seven or eight years in [residential] school and who do not progress beyond Grade 6, are indeed 'lost' when they return to the bush or wigwam.[9] He recommended that the teachers at residential schools be selected to identify those students who they did not believe would reach high school. They would be given a minimum of classroom training. Instead they would spend their days on carpentry, mechanics, electrical work, plumbing, and engaging in housekeeping, home nursing, waiting on tables, handicrafts, and sewing.[10]

In 1963, D. M. Hepburn, the former principal of the Federal school in Inuvik, published an article with the ominous headline "Northern Education: Facade for Failure." He argued that the education being provided in the new Federal schools was "hopelessly inadequate. The reasons for this failure are clear: the aims of education set forth by the Department are thoroughly confused, the curriculum is inappropriate, and many common practices of the system are not only ill conceived but actually harmful."[11]

Department officials contended that schools were designed to allow students "to become effective in [English], without losing their own cultural and linguistic traditions." But, Hepburn wrote, "no provision whatever is made in the curriculum to encourage retention of native language, culture or skills." Although 60% of the students at the Inuvik school were in the first three grades, few teachers had any background in primary education and "almost none has any special training in native education, and still receive none from the Department."[12] In the process, the schools were producing individuals who "lack not only the skills required for most permanent wage employment but also those necessary for the traditional economy."[13]

Former students in their statements to the TRC have confirmed the accuracy of Hepburn's predictions that students would lack the skills needed to follow a traditional lifestyle. Frank Tetlichi, who went to one of the hostels in Inuvik, explained that before going to school he had been a normal hunter, who, even at the age of five, had his own dog team and was able to hunt seal.[14] He spoke proudly of these years. Going to the hostel and school in Inuvik ended this lifestyle, creating a gap between himself and his own past, and between himself and his parents. As he stated, after finishing school "I began from scratch as if I had no knowledge whatsoever of anything."[15] More than anything else, the experience of residential schooling was this experience of being forced — in a very short period of time — to separate from one way of living and become rapidly acculturated through the hostel into another.[16]

In 1970, after the hostel system had been in operation for a decade, the number of Non-Status Indigenous students in high schools was just 1,000, even though high school at this time included Grades Seven and Eight. Just over a third of these (368) were in the highest grades, Ten to Twelve. In the eastern Arctic just fourteen students were enrolled in Grades Nine to Twelve.[17] A 1971 review of Grollier Hall (Inuvik) enrolment statistics concluded that of the fifty-seven boys who enrolled in the school each year,

three would be expelled, nine would leave of their own choice, and thirty-eight would complete the year. Of them, about twenty-four would return the following year.[32] In later years, there were some positive signs: in the second semester of the 1986–87 school year, the pass rate for students at Akaitcho Hall (Yellowknife) was 88%.[33] For the first semester of the following year, it was 78%.[34] Other results were less heartening: in 1990–91 thirty-eight students from the Kitikmeot region (formerly known as the central Arctic) dropped out of Akaitcho Hall.[35] There were 12,000 students enrolled in Northwest Territories schools in 1980, but only 192 graduated in that year.[36] In 1988, Aboriginal students accounted for 70% of high school enrolment in the Northwest Territories but only 31% of graduates.[37]

Many students could not identify with the content of the classroom materials. For instance, Lillian Elias remembers, "When I looked at Dick and Jane I thought Dick and Jane were in heaven when I saw all the green grass. That's how much I knew about Dick and Jane."[38] However, others felt being in the classroom was a rewarding experience. Paul Quassa commented that the Chesterfield Inlet school, although extremely strict, was successful: "Looking at the way the education system was set up, it really worked. We were taught well."[39] Pitta Irniq agreed: "The education system that we got was top notch at Chesterfield Inlet," despite the abuses that he and many other students reported from their time at that facility.[40] Eddie Dillon, who attended Sir Alexander Mackenzie School while living at Stringer Hall in Inuvik, was thankful for the education he received in the 1960s. In his testimony to the TRC, he made a point of thanking both his parents and the "government of Canada" for giving him a chance to get an education — something he would not have had in his own settlement.[41]

In her 1994 report on abuse at the Joseph Bernier School and Turquetil Hall at Chesterfield Inlet, conducted on behalf of the Northwest Territories government, the Yellowknife lawyer Katherine Peterson wrote:

> One could make a strong case for the generalized statement that the existence of the residential school in and of itself constituted an abusive experience for the students in that they were removed from familiar settings and placed in an environment which was frightening and detached from their family and culture.[42]

Specifically, she wrote of the way students were ridiculed for inappropriate use of English or an inability to complete school work; "over zealous discipline"; the arbitrary isolation of siblings of the opposite sex; the underemphasis of Inuit culture and an overemphasis on "western culture and its superiority"; and the separation of young children from their traditional supports and family connections.[43] She singled out cultural assimilation for specific comment:

> Education about, enhancement of and value accorded to the Inuit culture did not form any significant part of the former students' experiences at the Chesterfield Inlet school. Rather, the emphasis appeared to be one of promoting the

> english [sic] language, western culture and [tenets] of the Roman Catholic faith. As a result of this, Inuit children were not only robbed, for a period of time at least, of a sense of value of their culture, they also lost years of ability to experience that culture in their own community settings. In a culture in which the role of family and connection with the land is so prominent it is easy to see why these students experienced such a sense of detachment and loss.[54]

Peterson noted that some former students did speak positively of their experiences at the school. One, for example, said that he would not have learned to read or write in syllabics had he not attended the school. Others said the school prepared them for positions of responsibility in their communities. The overall assessment, however, was that their time at the school had alienated them from those communities, broken their links to their culture, and diminished their capacity to serve as effective parents.[55]

In their statements some former students also spoke positively of the benefit of learning English.[56] Former students also remembered the excitement of learning about the wider world outside the Arctic. Students who attended the Churchill school spoke about how they were taught by open-minded teachers who were willing to expose them to the social and political changes taking place across the world in the 1960s.[57] John Amagoalik wrote that at the Churchill Vocational Centre "we had excellent teachers. To this day we still talk about them ... They treated us as ordinary people. We had never experienced this sort of attitude before and it was, in a way, liberating to be with new teachers that treated you as their equal."[58] David Simailak, who attended the Duke of Edinburgh School in Churchill, spoke of how his time at residential school gave him a series of new opportunities. He fondly remembers excelling at math and spelling competitions, and travelling to Montreal for Expo 67.[59]

For some other students, the classroom was enjoyable for another reason altogether. For children who were bullied or who suffered physical or sexual abuse in the hostels, the classroom was a safe haven. Marjorie Ovayuak, who was bullied by older girls at Stringer Hall, saw the classes at the school as her sanctuary: "I was mocked; I was teased; I was picked on ... The hostel was so bad but when I went to school, I was happy ... As long as I was away from Stringer Hall...."[70]

Not all northern students studied in the North. In the late 1950s, the federal government sent fifty-one young Inuit to Leduc, Alberta, for training for jobs on the DEW Line.[71] In the 1960s the federal government launched the "experimental Eskimo" program, hand-picking some promising young people to live a middle-class existence and attend school in places as diverse as Petite Riviere, in Lunenburg County, Nova Scotia; Winnipeg; and Ottawa.[72] The experiment was meant both to further the young people's education and to show skeptics that Inuit students were academically, at least, equal to their non-Inuit contemporaries. Like others who followed them, some were able to thrive both socially and academically, and they acknowledged the benefits of their participation in the program. Because of their immersion in white society,

when these students returned home they proved to be indispensable in helping to bridge the gap between the people of their home communities and government authorities.[73] Many went on to play leading roles in campaigns for Inuit rights and recognition. Peter Ittinuar, who attended high school in Ottawa for two years, became the first Inuk member of Parliament.[74] Despite his success, Ittinuar felt that for many the program had mixed results. In his autobiography, Ittinuar wrote that fellow student Zebedee Nungak from Puvirnituq always remarked that "he has never regretted the experience, but he has also never recovered from it."[75]

CHAPTER 9

The large hostels

Despite the fact that in 1955, Northern Affairs and National Resources Minister Jean Lesage had written that boarding schools were inappropriate for northern Canada, by 1961 the federal government's system of large hostels was fully established throughout the North. The hostels replicated the problems that had characterized the residential school system in southern Canada. They were large, regimented institutions, run by missionaries whose primary concern was winning and keeping religious converts. They employed a curriculum that was culturally and geographically inappropriate. While a number of schools developed admirable reputations, most students did not do well academically. Sexual abuse was a serious problem in a number of these institutions. The abuse was coupled with a failure on the part of the government and the residence administrations to properly investigate and prosecute it. Institutional interests were placed before those of the children.

Most of the students who lived in the two Yukon hostels, located in Whitehorse, came from First Nations families. In the Northwest Territories, seven large hostels were located in five communities in the western Arctic: Yellowknife, Fort McPherson, Fort Smith, Fort Simpson, and Inuvik. (Grandin College, also located in Fort Smith, was not part of the federally organized large hostel system and will be discussed separately.) These communities are either on the Mackenzie River and its delta or on the lakes and rivers that flow into the Mackenzie. First Nations, Métis, and Inuit students could be found in all the hostels in the western Arctic. Until 1964, when the Churchill Vocational Centre opened, there was only one hostel in the eastern Arctic: Turquetil Hall at Chesterfield Inlet, on the western shore of Hudson Bay. The limited number of hostels in the East meant that many Inuit children were enrolled in schools and hostels in the western Arctic, particularly those in Inuvik (the most northerly of the communities with hostels in the West) and Yellowknife (which provided students with access to a variety of vocational education programs.) In 1970, for example, Stringer Hall in Inuvik was home to 185 Inuit students who came from places as distant as Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay), Taloyoak (Spence Bay), and Gjoa Haven.[1] Yellowknife drew students from across the entire Arctic, including in

1970 from Iqaluktuuttiaq, Kugluktuk (Coppermine), Inuvik, Iqaluit (Frobisher Bay), Bathurst Inlet, and even Arctic Québec.[2] In one year the Churchill Vocational Centre housed students from Qamani'tuaq (Baker Lake), Chesterfield Inlet, Coral Harbour, Arviat (Eskimo Point), Igloolik, Kangiqliniq (Rankin Inlet), Naujaat (Repulse Bay), Whale Cove, Qikiqtarjuaq (Broughton Island), Kinngait (Cape Dorset), Iqaluit, Grise Fiord, Pangnirtung, Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet), and Resolute Bay, all still part of the Northwest Territories at that time, before the creation of Nunavut in 1999. Students also came from Ivuyivik (Port Harrison), Quaqtaq, Kangirsuk (Payne Bay), and Sugluk in northern Québec.[3] The distances some of these students travelled are staggering. Inuvik is more than 1,500 kilometres from Taloyoak, while Iqaluit and Yellowknife are over 2,200 kilometres apart.[4]

The residences were often large institutions. Grollier and Stringer Halls in Inuvik, for example, were built to house 250 students each.[5] Initially Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife was intended to accommodate 100 students, while the Anglican Bompas Hall in Fort Simpson had an initial capacity of 50 and the Catholic Lapointe Hall in the same community had a capacity of 150. The initial staff complement for Akaitcho Hall was ten: a superintendent, a matron, an assistant matron, a cook, an assistant cook, a laundress, a caretaker, a choreman, and two dormitory supervisors (one male, one female). Lapointe Hall, with fifty more students, was allotted three more staff members.[6] By the late 1960s at Stringer Hall, for instance, there were two distinct groups of employees. The first included four non-Aboriginal supervisors of the boys' and girls' dormitories (one each for senior and junior boys and girls) and a number of Aboriginal assistants to help with the youngest children. The second group, including the nurse and the kitchen and dining room staff managed by the hostel matron, worked in the areas outside the dorms. Most of the hostel staff, except for the dormitory assistants and sometimes some of the kitchen and dining room staff, were not from the North and spoke only English. While the matron and her staff were tasked with supervising the dining hall, the supervisors were in charge of the dormitories.[7]

By the early 1960s, it was not uncommon for Stringer Hall in Inuvik to have an enrolment that exceeded its capacity. In 1963, for example, it housed 277 students, at a time when the building had a capacity of 250. At the same time, Grollier Hall in the same community had seventy-five empty beds. However, the excess children in Stringer Hall could not be moved into Grollier Hall because they were identified as Anglicans, and Grollier Hall was operated by Catholics.[8] In 1964 Stringer Hall was housing 300 students with no immediate relief in sight.[9] Not surprisingly a 1965 review of the hostels observed that "the existence of separate and distinct hostels alongside of schools following separate and distinct extra-curriculum programs can only lead to unnecessary and unwarranted duplication."[10] A 1967 medical inspection of Turquetil Hall in Chesterfield Inlet concluded the facility was "grossly overcrowded."[11]

Privacy was limited in many residences, particularly in the early years when the students in most residences slept in dormitories in which the beds were "arranged army-style for fifty or sixty in one room."[12] Residents in hostels at Yellowknife and Churchill enjoyed significantly more privacy and comfort. There, the relatively modern residence buildings featured smaller, four-person rooms.[13]

Recruitment and resistance

In 1960, the federal government had seven criteria for selecting students to attend northern hostels and residential schools:

- They had to live in an area "reasonably adjacent" to the institution.
- They had to have undergone a medical examination and an X-ray.
- They had to have reached the age of six by December 31 of the year of admittance.
- Priority would be given to those who had attended in the previous year.
- They had to be of the religious faith of the authority operating the institution.
- They had to lack access to a day school or other school facilities.
- Enrolment could not exceed the approved registration for the school.[14]

Initially Northern Affairs recommended that before being admitted to the hostels, "Indian children be examined by a doctor and Eskimo children by a nurse." While this likely reflected the fact that there were few doctors in the eastern Arctic, it did lead one government official to comment that he could not understand "why a doctor is required for Indian children and nurse for Eskimos."[15]

In selecting the first students for the Inuvik residences, Northern Affairs relied in 1959 on preliminary surveys carried out by missionaries, Hudson's Bay Company employees, teachers, and Mounted Police officers. Students were flown to collection points in small planes. From these locations they were flown in larger planes to Inuvik.[16]

Norman Burgess was in charge of arranging many of these early airlifts. His descriptions of the way in which a girl was collected from her family in a remote area east of Herschel Island is harrowing. The family was on a boat in the water when the plane

> landed down beside them right out in the middle of nowhere and took the little girl, screaming and kicking, put her in the aircraft—the mother crying, the father crying, the kid crying, all part of the game in those days—and flew her into Inuvik and put her in the hostel. It was pretty nerve-wracking and I don't think I could get to where I agreed with it, but nonetheless, there wasn't that much choice.[17]

Some children, such as Eric Anautalik, had never seen an airplane before.[18] While this may have added a degree of excitement to the journey, several former students

remembered the air journeys to, and later from, the hostels as uncomfortable and unsafe.[29] Beatrice Bernhardt stated that as a six-year-old she was given neither food nor water during her flight from the Kugluktuk area to Inuvik.[30] Paul Quassa, who was also about six years old when he was sent from Igloolik to Chesterfield Inlet, remembered there were no seats or safety precautions taken on the plane: "We just sat on the floor of the plane." He also remembers children having to urinate in the plane. "I remember there was no washroom, but because we were children we had to go." Like many other journeys to and from the hostel, Quassa's first plane journey made several stops along the way, collecting more children at Naujaat and Kangiqliniq: "We just landed along the way. Then we'd lift off and go."[31]

"Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School"

The hostels opened to a flurry of negative publicity. In September 1959, the *Winnipeg Free Press* reporter Erik Watt's article on school recruitment ran under the headline "Eyewitness Says: Kidnap Children to Fill School." According to Watt, a resident of Old Crow, Yukon, had told him that children had been, in essence, kidnapped to "fill and thereby justify a super-school that no one in the north wanted except the government and the Anglican Church." According to Watt, the children from Old Crow had been taken to the new Anglican hostel in Fort McPherson. The article drew attention to the distance children had to travel, parents' opposition to being separated from their children, and the religious segregation that was central to the system. An anonymous Mounted Police officer was quoted as saying, "Neither church wants its converts tainted by any contact with the other. It's a fine way to teach them to become citizens."[32]

The allegations of kidnapping did not go away. In the early 1960s, Citizenship and Immigration Minister Richard Bell said, "Much publicity has been given to the claim that the Government has been dragging babes from their mothers' arms and placing them in hostels (all in the name of education). The absurdity of such claims is pointed out by the fact that all pupils in hostels must be of school age, at least aged 6 and that the consent of the parent or legal guardian is a requirement for admission."[33]

Consent forms were indeed usually obtained from parents, but at times pressure was applied to get that consent. In 1963 Northern Affairs official W. G. Booth travelled through the Northwest Territories with the Treaty payment party to recruit students for the Inuvik hostels. In one community, parents insisted that, rather than send their children away, they wanted a day school in their community. "At first, it did not seem as though any children would be going to the hostel," he wrote. However, with the help of the Mounted Police officer, who was there as a part of the Treaty payment party, and the government translator, he succeeded in "getting the signatures of the parents of some six children."[34]

In a 1977 article in *Inuit Today*, Armand Tagoona explained the pressures that were placed on parents to win their consent. He recalled being taken by the settlement manager to act as interpreter for a couple whose daughter was on a list to be sent to the Churchill Vocational Centre. The parents objected to her going, as she had reached marriageable age. The official told Tagoona to explain to them, "If you don't let your daughter go, I don't want to see any of you in my office at any time. Even if you no longer have any food, you will not be given welfare ..." Her mother and father looked at each other as if in agreement, then the mother said, 'Okay, let her go.'"[xxi]

Norman Attungala recalled that it was a Department of Indian Affairs official who told him to send his son to school.[xxii] At other times, Survivors have explained, their parents sent them to the schools because the government threatened to withhold family allowance payments if children were not sent away.[xxiii] In many cases children were simply taken to school without any "prior consultation" with parents or the children themselves. In some extreme cases physical force was used. Eric Anaviapik explains the trauma that he felt as a three-and-a-half-year-old being picked up by an RCMP officer and, in his words, "brought into the modern age."[xxiv] As he remembers, "I was in shock, I mean I was taken, literally. I was snatched by the policeman from my mother's arms ... In that single day, my whole life changed."[xxv]

Mary Charlie from Ross River in the Yukon recalled being rounded up and taken to the Lower Post school in northern British Columbia.

> I remember when I went to school I was out in the bush about 14 miles from here and we were living out there and there was a big truck that came and got everybody. I remember one girl, my friend, her name was Agnes ... She didn't want to go to school so she ran half around the lake and it's a pretty big lake to run around, but they caught her anyway and we went into that big truck. And we never sat down, there was no bench or anything in that big wood truck so whatever but there was no seats in there to sit down, or had any water or anything to eat all day while we ran around, pick up kids, and it was dusty and dirty and we didn't even—I didn't even know where I was going.[xxvi]

Angus Lesende, who attended residential school in Alberta and Inuvik, said his life changed forever when he first entered residential school.

> I recall walking as a small boy up to this big building with some clothing. Nobody explained to me what was happening at this point. I remember my parents dropping me off with my brothers and one sister and from a child's eyes, this was really a strange environment. So, each Sister ... met us at the door and this began my journey into residential schools. A journey I will never forget. Walking through those doors, began the split of one once happy, connected family. Once the doors were shut, that's when it began my nightmare. Our parents were no longer there to be ... to protect us. My sister was taken to the other side, from then

> we had no contact, with no one ever playing, chatting, visiting, and this is the pain I really believe in my life that was once happy family began to break apart."[1]

The experience was painful for the parents. Evelyn Knight recalled that a federal government representative came to Pangatalang to recruit children for the schools.

> When he came to get the children he was so aggressive and intimidating. I had no choice but to let him take them. I had no choice but to say yes, even though I didn't want them to go. Who would want that? No one had ever taken our small children from us before. When they took them all of the mothers began to grieve as if our children had died. Before we let's the most terrible thing in the world to have someone take your children away and there was no way to stop it. The White man was so intimidating and he came to take our children, our innocent children that we had every expectation of raising ourselves. We thought they would stay with us until they were grown. It was so horrible to be left behind by our children because we weren't present to be separated from their children when they were taken. They never planned to stay with us.[2]

Agatha Agadalit Magwagwik have raised her children in the Baffin Island area. Two of her boys went to the Chesterfield school.

> We couldn't communicate with them because there were no phones, and since we were in the camp, we didn't get any letters from them. We didn't hear from them for a long, long time. We didn't know how they were doing there. I remember being so worried about them. Finally there came a letter that someone brought to us at the camp. He wrote that he was very homesick and that he wanted his parents to talk to the teachers and tell them to let him come home. He wrote that he was scared of the bullies in the school. He was just a little boy. I wrote back and told him that he had to be patient and wait for the time to come home. I wrote to him that he had to wait until springtime.[3]

Almost as difficult as the separation was the return to the home community after months or years of schooling. Peggy Blakeney-Blennerhassett illustrates how these broken relationships manifested themselves the moment that children returned to their communities for the summer holidays. Some of the younger children, she explains, had literally forgotten who their parents were: "I remember when we'd land in Cambridge Bay (for the holidays) we'd all be brought to the school and the parents would come up and pick us up. There was a lot of kids that were crying cause they didn't know who their parents were. They forgot about them." Older students, although remembering their parents, resented returning to their parents' homes: "Some ... kids didn't want to go with their parents, they said, 'they're so dirty, and they're so stinking' ... and they would be crying and had to be forced to be taken home."[4]

The schools were quite conscious of the implications of the changes that they were introducing into northern communities. A handbook prepared for the Chesterfield Residential Center advised:

> [illegible]

[illegible] story arrived at the hostel, children were [illegible] in order of generations to explore, modify, and exchange items. Many [illegible] the transition story were given an artifact, and a record was made of the original owner's offering. Items found, modified, or belonging to [illegible] were [illegible] [illegible] to be given a narrative [illegible] where he went to Carolina Hall.

> I was six years old when I got my transition. ... I was taught an old story that I was told when I was given a little something new and then I got to transition on over. I was given to put on a new clothing, a new socks, long pullover, denim pleated, dark boots, and then I got a new transition on over, I got a new transition on over clothes and then I didn't say, "Nonsense," they told a new transition and I was got to put [illegible] up and I say, "Mom," to, they weren't given a name. I've never gotten a transition and that's how I was already invested. And I thought, I've been to Carolina Hall again. What kind of society does that to people?[27]

Peggy Schoonmaker [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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an iron over the very hand on which it was built. One Survivor from Nanaimo remembers that soon after her arrival at Churchill, she wanted someone to cut down all the trees "as I could see far enough."[50]

Friendship and bullying

Cut off from family, students turned to each other for support. In notes that he took when he worked at Vintage Hall as supervisor in the mid-1960s, Rodney Clifton observed, "Often when a meal is over and the students are returning to their dorms, they put their arms around one another as they walk down the halls," and once in the dormitories, some of the younger boys would "often sleep together or lay in each others [sic] beds and tell stories."[51] According to Clifton, older boys would similarly talk late into the night: "The grade 11 and 12 students almost [n]ever sleep together but they often would lay in each others [sic] beds and talk till late at night. They would relate stories of their encounters, sexual experiences, hunting experiences and daily news."[52] Some students clearly felt very positive about the friendships they developed at the hostels. Many remembered meeting many good people at the hostels, among both the staff and the student body.[53] "I didn't fit in Carillon Hall," remembers Beatrice Bernhardt, "except when we had fun with each other and when we were allowed to just be together at playtime."[54] A former resident at Vintage Hall, Eddie Dillon, reflected on the role of friendship this way: "I do regret not being able to communicate with my family through those years [at the hostel] ... but the students we end up going to school with in Vintage Hall, that's the extended families we have. We share that."[55]

Rather than support each other, some students engaged in bullying. Inuit, Inuvialuit (Inuit of the western Arctic), and First Nations girls were all targets of bullying by members of the other groups, and sometimes by members of their own groups. Beatrice Bernhardt remembers that, more than any of the things the staff did, the "biggest abuse [at the hostel] came from other students." She bitterly remembered how she was called "dumb," "stupid," and "dirty Eskimo" at the hostel. They were "witched, we had curses." Beatrice said of the girls who teased her:[56] Girls coming from the coastal Arctic had similar stories of being tormented by other girls. Peggy Tologanak said that Cowichi'an as well as Inuvialuit girls teased her during her time at Vintage Hall. She remembers being called "dirty and stinking."[57] Likewise, Jeannie Ewakh, from Igaliktuuttiaq, was targeted as an outsider when she went to hostel. She specifically remembered a staff member calling her a "stupid Eskimo."[58] Other girls felt they were bullied because of a handicap. Marjorie Okpatok says that while she got along with most of the other children at Vintage Hall, she was teased because she suffered from bronchitis from the age of[59]

Judi Kochon recalled how a group of older girls at Grollier Hall bullied a younger girl into stealing candy for them.

> That whole time that she was gone, like I felt so bad, you know like, I knew I couldn't do anything but I felt so bad for her because I knew what she would go through if she got caught. But she came back with the candies and that, but just it took so long for her to come back so it was just like, for me it was just an agony just waiting for her to come back and that nothing would happen to her.[64]

Students often had trouble adjusting to hostel life. In reporting on the discharge of five "problem students" in Akaitcho Hall's first semester, administrator A. I. Boucr recommended "greater care be exercised in selecting students for the hostel. It is entirely improper to place delinquent and immoral people among wholesome, developing teenagers."[65] In approving a student's request to be allowed to return from Yellowknife to his home community, Sir John Franklin School principal N. I. Macpherson said he felt that "a more careful selection would prevent this recurring problem of students finding themselves unwilling or unable to adjust to life here."[66] In writing about the difficulties that students had in adjusting to hostel life, a child care worker at the Ukkivik hostel in Iqaluit noted in the early 1970s that for many students, the residence housed

> more people than exist in their entire home community. Most have never been among so many people of their own age before. The new environment requires adjustment. There are no grandparents or parents to answer to. There are no babies and small children to care for. The boys cannot go out hunting. Even the traditional visiting becomes hazardous in Frobisher Bay where alcohol is passed out freely and girls are continuously accosted by drunks.[67]

Food

It is apparent that the food in the hostels, when compared with the diets served in the mission residential schools of the 1950s, represented a significant improvement in both quality and quantity. Alice Blondin-Perrin, who had attended the St. Joseph's Catholic residential school in Fort Resolution, transferred to Breynat Hall when it opened in Fort Smith. In her memoirs, she recalled that food improved dramatically. At Breynat Hall students were served "hot lunches of soup, stew, shepherd's pie, bread, and milk. The stew was made from various meats, always prepared well and always tasty. The dinners were always delicious, with mashed potatoes, meat, meatloaf, or fish, and vegetables. I could now eat cooked carrots, beets, turnips, and peas which I used to hate the taste of, but now loved."[68]

A 1965 review of the hostels in the Northwest Territories concluded, "The food received by the residents is excellent in both quantity and quality." Students were

being fed in keeping with the Canada Food Guide and "the administrators have used their collective imaginations and skills to give the children more than the minima called for by the guide." The supply of milk, fruit, vegetables, cereal, bread, ice cream and butter was judged ample.[69] But while quantity and quality had improved, it was, as Blondin-Perrin's comments reveal, a southern diet. It was not one that students adjusted to easily. In the early 1970s, a child care worker at the Iqaluit hostel wrote that, while the food was adequate by southern standards,

> the Eskimo diet is not the white man's diet. Ham hocks and sauerkraut do not appeal to the students the way seal, char and caribou do. As a result much of the food is going into garbage cans instead into stomachs. The difference is being made up in soft drinks and chocolate bars.[70]

After initially tolerating some traditional foods, the government had in fact banned country food from the residences. In 1961 students at Turquetil Hall were being fed two meals of raw fish and two meals of raw beef a week. The meat was not traditional northern caribou but rather beef that came from a Winnipeg packing plant; the fish was caught locally. The residence principal, René Bélair, was a strong supporter of the practice. He said that none of the children had become ill as a result of eating raw food. "Do not forget that they are eskimos and not white: They like it and it is good for them. This is one thing that you will never be able to stop, is to stop an eskimo from eating raw meat. It is just like ice cream to us."[71] Medical advice provided to Indian Affairs concluded that such a diet was a threat to the health of the children since the meat could be "infested with worms that can cause illness, incapacity, and in some cases death." R. A. Bishop of Northern Affairs informed Bélair that he believed the school had no choice but to accept the medical advice not to serve children raw meat even though the decision would not be popular with the students.[72] As result, the practice of serving raw meat and fish was halted at the school in the summer of 1962.[73]

In 1961 the students at the Anglican Stringer Hall in Inuvik were being fed frozen raw whitefish once a month and raw reindeer meat about once a month as well. Residence administrator Leonard Holman said that discontinuing the serving of raw foods, which he said was provided as a "special treat," would not cause any problems.[74] In a separate note, Holman questioned whether raw, frozen food was as dangerous as federal government officials claimed, pointing out that "it was men from the same Department who advised and recommended that we include these items as a 'special' in our diet and that they would be perfectly safe." He also relayed the following story:

> Over a year ago in the midst of the Measle epidemic, one little Eskimo lad from a very primitive section was really very sick and was showing no sign whatsoever of recovery. Just lay there with a high fever not even wanting to drink. We have on our staff an Eskimo lady, Mrs. Annie Anderson, who comes from the Coppermine area and knows their dialect, so whenever there is sickness

> she leaves her sewing and goes in to help the Nurse, and talks away to them in their own language, which we have found to be very beneficial. He called and asked her to PLEASE get him a piece of frozen caribou. None was available so she slipped downstairs and came back with a little piece of frozen Reindeer. He fairly grabbed it out of her hand, pushed it into his mouth and lay there sucking and chewing on it. This was the turning point on the road to recovery. Just a little taste of 'home' from one of his own, who knew and understood.[75]

By the end of the first decade of operation, the diets were almost completely southern in nature. In 1970 this was a typical daily menu at Stringer Hall:

Breakfast	puffed wheat, toast, jam, milk
Lunch	grilled cheese sandwiches, canned tomatoes, plums, milk
Dinner	roast beef, gravy, mashed potatoes, peas, ice cream, cookies (home made), milk.[76]

In the 1990s there were attempts to reintroduce traditional food. In 1990 Anglican pastor Tom Gavac reported that at Akaitcho Hall "many students wish that more traditional, customary foods were served—namely caribou and fish." When he inquired into the possibility of serving such food, he was told that such meat could not be served unless it was government inspected, a process that was deemed to be too costly. Gavac said it was "almost inconceivable to me that youth who normally consume caribou and fish (often every day in the home community) cannot have such items at least once weekly."[77]

Many students had a great deal of difficulty adapting to the southern diet. The food at Turquetil Hall was remembered as very repetitive and poor: breakfast was always porridge, and lunch was some combination of sandwich, soup, and tea.[78] Without any real choice, however, the children were forced to adhere to this institutionalized food.

Health care

In 1960 the Indian and Northern Health Services of the federal health department recommended that there be a registered nurse for every hostel with a capacity of 200 students or more. For isolated hostels, it was recommended that there be a nurse available even if the enrolment was less than 200. Fulfilling this recommendation required the hiring of nurses in Inuvik and Fort Smith. It was thought that the matron at Turquetil Hall would be able to provide adequate nursing care as long as she was an "alert motherly person who is highly reliable" and had "a knowledge of home nursing and first aid."[79]

In the hostels with more than 100 residents, it appears that students had access to a level of medical care far superior to what had been available in the older residential schools. The first matron at Akaitcho Hall was a registered nurse. From the outset the

local schools arranged for the X-raying of students and eye tests. A local doctor was able to extract teeth, but it was felt that the services of a dentist were urgently needed.[80] At the Churchill Vocational Centre a sick parade (to which students who were feeling ill could report) was held each morning, the hostel matron was a registered nurse, and a public health nurse was available three half-days a week. The hospital was about 200 metres from the school, and appointments with doctors and dentists were arranged whenever necessary.[81]

The initial plan was for the Anglican hostel at Fort Simpson to be covered by periodic visits from an Indian and Northern Health Services nurse, while the Roman Catholic hostel could be covered by the staff of the outpatient department of the local Roman Catholic hospital.[82] In operation the system was far from ideal. When a boy with tuberculosis was admitted to Bompas Hall in Fort Simpson in December 1963, the administrator, Ben Sales, protested. He pointed out that the boy was supposed to receive large doses of medicine each day for seven months. Sales wrote, "We have no professional nurse on our staff to be responsible for this medication."[83]

Contagious illnesses spread quickly in large dormitories. Initially infecting four students, a 1959 outbreak of the measles affected seventy students at the two Inuvik residences.[84] The following year there were twenty cases of a "mild epidemic" of influenza among the children at the same residences.[85] Another urgent report went out in 1961 stating that there were 106 cases of influenza in the hostels.[86] Ninety-three students came down with influenza in Fort Simpson in 1963.[87] Three years later an influenza epidemic hit both Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson and Bompas Hall in Fort Simpson, leading to the cancellation of an Easter Festival at Fort Simpson.[88] First aid and medication were available from infirmaries in each of the Whitehorse hostel buildings in 1971, but neither infirmary had beds, making it impossible to separate children with infectious illnesses from the rest of the student body.[89] Despite these problems, a 1965 assessment of the Northwest Territories hostels concluded that the hostels all had "excellent infirmaries for boys and for girls."[90]

Policies on the reporting of illnesses to home communities appear either to have been non-existent at first, or to have not been properly communicated to staff. When a girl from Qamani'tuaq was hospitalized with suspected appendicitis in the fall of 1964, the residence administration did not inform the girl's family. Students, however, sent letters to the community that led her mother to believe that the girl had been hospitalized because of injuries received in a playground altercation. As can be imagined, this caused the mother considerable anxiety. In apologizing for the delay, the Keewatin regional superintendent of schools wrote, "Procedures for reporting hospital admittances to me have now been established and you can be assured that such reports will be forwarded to home settlements in the future."[91]

The parents of a boy from the Kangiqliniq (Rankin Inlet) region discovered that their son had been hospitalized with pneumonia in late 1978 only when another

student phoned his family with the news. This apparently was only the latest in a string of failures to communicate such news. Melinda Tatty, the vice-chair of the Rankin Inlet Community Education Committee, said that in the past students had been hospitalized, treated for broken bones, and even undergone surgery without their parents being notified. "A phone call informing the parents of a sick or injured student right away and a follow up phone call on the student's progress and eventual recovery for a serious illness is not too much to ask."[92]

Over time the buildings began to deteriorate, creating health and safety hazards. An inspector judged the sanitation system at the school in Deline (Fort Franklin) "inadequate and unsanitary" in 1965. Waste from the school was pumped into a ditch that drained into Great Bear Lake at a point just 200 metres from the intake that supplied the school with water.[93] Conditions in a temporary classroom structure in Inuvik in that year were so serious that an inspector contemplated closing the building. The girls' lavatory consisted of buckets with plastic liners and lacked a working fan, while the barrel from which students got drinking water was rusty and coated on the bottom with a deposit of yellow sludge.[94] There were also problems at the school in Fort Simpson. There, students were still using two "small and very inadequate" buildings that, according to an Anglican Church official, had been "condemned as unfit for use." The smaller of the two—a one-room, poorly ventilated unit used to instruct twenty-three children — had both an oil stove and a badly leaking oil tank. It also lacked drinking water and a toilet, forcing children outdoors to use the other building's facilities.[95] A call for their replacement would not be heeded until 1970.[96]

By the early 1970s there were growing concerns about the condition of Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson. A 1973 inspection described the residence as being "in poor condition, and ill-kept, cleanliness having been ignored in some areas." For example:

- The first floor "stairways and fire exits were dirty, some contained broken glass and food and garbage on the floors."
- The games rooms had "dirty walls, floors and ceilings.... A torn mattress with exposed springs was being used for tumbling."
- The girls' washroom had "two of 6 water closets not functioning" and "five of the 6 stall doors broken off hinges," and "toilet paper was lying on the floor" due to a lack of dispensers.[97] In 1975 federal Public Works officials concluded that "much of the plumbing is very close to rotten as [are] some parts of the electrical system."[98]

An improvement on the mission schools

Students who were transferred from the old mission residential schools tended to have positive assessments of the new hostels. In her memoirs, Alice Blondin-Perrin, who had attended the Fort Resolution school, wrote of Breynat Hall in Fort Smith:

> Everything looked huge and new, compared to the old St. Joseph's Mission. The most beautiful Christmas tree stood in the little girls' play area. It was nicely decorated with colourful lights, in the freshly painted new residence. There was only Father Mokwa and I as he personally toured me around until we reached the dormitory. A Grey Nun was there. They showed me the brand new beds, much bigger than the cots we had in Fort Resolution, with brand new sheets, spongy pillows, and bedspreads. It all looked so clean and attractive to sleep in. We had our own lockers to store our personal things.[99]

Albert Canadien had gone to the Fort Providence residential school as a young boy. He attended Grade 10 in Yellowknife, while living in Akaitcho Hall.

> Instead of the large dormitories that I was accustomed to, we were assigned four to a room. There were two sets of bunks, closets and dressers, and desks by the window for doing homework. There, I lived and went to school with Inuit, Métis, white, and even Chinese students. This was quite a change for me from the residential school days. Living at the hostel at that time proved to be a good experience for me in later life. It taught me to get along with and respect people from other cultures, to treat them like you would anyone else.[100]

Canadien appreciated the fact that the students were no longer under close supervision. "We had freedom, based on an individual honour system. This was a great improvement from the residential school system."[101]

After his time in the Coppermine tent hostel, Richard Kaiyogan said life at Akaitcho Hall was "like staying in a Four Seasons Hotel."[102] Florence Barnaby did not care for the year that she spent at Grollier Hall, the Roman Catholic residence in Inuvik. She did, however, enjoy her time at Akaitcho Hall.

> It was good there because everybody was mixed up. It just ... they didn't separate the Catholic, the Anglican, and the Protestant. And we—I came home for summer, and then go back again to Akaitcho Hall. And I liked Akaitcho Hall because we have dances every Friday night, you know, and it was good. We eat with the boys. It was, no, "You can't, you have to sit by yourself, or boys this side." It wasn't like that.[103]

Willy Carpenter went to a mission school at Aklavik and then to the hostels and day schools at Inuvik and Yellowknife. He said that life in the mission school was "the hardest part of my life; I was very young and just like—I was treated like an animal. I was treated like an animal. They even fed us like animals." Stringer Hall in Inuvik was,

he said, "totally different from Aklavik. And from Stringer Hall I went to Akaitcho Hall, that one was just like living in a hotel, you know."[104]

Steve Lafferty stayed only a short time at Bompas Hall and was sent home because he was too lonesome. When he later went to Lapointe Hall, he said, "I liked it because we played lots of hockey, and then there, too, they gave me a job.... I liked to work, they knew I liked to work, so I used to work in the kitchen a lot." He also liked the fact that the boys were allowed to go out on the land to snare rabbits. Many lifelong friendships were developed at the school. What he recalled about Akaitcho Hall was the fact that it was "totally free."[105]

Other students who had no experience of the old residential schools had positive assessments of Akaitcho Hall. Brenda Jancke and Bernice Lyall, who both went to Akaitcho Hall in the 1980s, shared several positive memories of their school experience. Brenda Jancke remarked that although she recognizes that many Inuit have lost their ties to traditional knowledge, she "didn't really have a bad experience at all" at school, and was able to retain her traditional knowledge thanks to her father who had never been away to school.[106] Bernice Lyall praised many aspects of her time at Akaitcho Hall when she was seventeen: "We had a great time," she stated. She especially remembered the sports—volleyball and hockey—and the excellent staff at the school: they had the "best teachers, best educators," she remembered.[107]

Aboriginal children often received a hostile reception in the public schools. Leda Jules said the transfer from the isolated residential school at Lower Post to Coudert Hall in Whitehorse came as a shock. "I never knew white people before until I went to the Coudert Residence in Whitehorse where we still stayed in a residential school but we went to a public school next door, Christ The King High, that's where I first encountered racism." When a boy in the school called her a 'squaw,' she fought back. "I remember Sister Agnes used to hit us with yard sticks trying to break us apart, I was a real scrapper back then too, but I wasn't going to... I wasn't that little obedient, little kid that came out of Lower Post anymore, you know?"

The role of the churches in hostel life

Even though the hostels in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon had been paid for and usually designed by the federal government, missionaries continued to play a major role in residential schooling. Most of the hostels, for example, were operated, at least initially, by either the Anglican or Roman Catholic church. The continued influence of the churches was reflected in the hostel names. Initially the federal government wished to name the schools after northern explorers and the hostels after First Nations or Aboriginal figures. This was the model that was followed in Yellowknife, where the school was named for Sir John Franklin and the hostel for the Dene Chief

Akaitcho, who served as a guide to Franklin.[107] The Roman Catholics preferred that the hostels they administered be given names that would indicate that the hostel was under church management.[108] As a result the church-administered hostels were named after Catholic or Anglican missionaries. At Chesterfield Inlet, Turquetil Hall (named after an Oblate missionary, Arsène Turquetil) was built alongside Joseph Bernier School (named for the leader of twelve Canadian government expeditions to the Polar Seas). In Inuvik, children lived at Gordon Hall and Stringer Hall, named respectively after a Catholic missionary, Father P. Gordon, and an Anglican missionary, Isaac Stringer. They attended Sir Alexander Mackenzie federal school (named for the fur trader whose travels took him down the Mackenzie River to the Arctic Ocean).[109] In the Yukon the Protestant hostel was simply Yukon Hall, but the Catholic residence was Coudret Hall, after Bishop Jean L. Coudret.[110] It was only in 1971, with the opening of the Ukkivik hostel in Iqaluit, that the practice of incorporating Aboriginal names and languages in the naming of hostels was revived.[111]

While the Churchill school and residence were meant to be non-denominational, both the Anglican and Catholic churches still expected to play a role in their operation. Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh was alarmed to discover that five Anglican boys from the communities of Igloolik and Fort Ross had been housed in the Roman Catholic dormitory at Chesterfield Inlet, as a stopover en route to school in Churchill. Housing the boys in "that environment" did not give Marsh confidence that "they are being looked after as Anglican children."[112] In 1964 Roman Catholic church officials complained that not enough was being done to ensure that Catholic students were not living in dormitories that were supervised by non-Catholics.[113] The residence had arranged to house Catholic boys in separate rooms from the non-Catholic boys. However, in the opinion of Father R. Harambours, this was not sufficient.[114]

Even at such non-denominational hostels as the Churchill Vocational Centre, students were expected to attend chapel on Sunday. In 1970 Catholic and Anglican officials, alarmed by a drop in the number of students attending local church services at Churchill, asked that the school implement an existing government policy of giving assignments to students who did not attend church. Such assignments, they said, were to be seen not as punishment, but "as a means to make clear that the time for church services is not to be used as they like."[115] The actual policy stated that children who did not attend church could be assigned other duties such as supervised study or "some light duty."[116] For his part, the school principal, F. Dunford, resisted the measure, since in his opinion such assignments "would be a punitive or retributive act."[117]

In 1969, the government provided the following assessment of the policy of church management of the schools. Church management, it was argued, had provided:

> 1) Superior care in the terms of personalized concern and human understanding have been provided by a group of dedicated people that could not be duplicated;

2) The cost of operation has been less than could be achieved under government control; and

3) Although hostels for persons of a particular belief have a divisive effect in a community, religious bias has been kept to a minimum and appears to be growing less rather than more over the years.[11]

Given the ongoing sexual abuse at a number of church-run residences, it is hard to accept that church-run hostels provided "superior care." The assertion that religious bias had been kept to a minimum is debatable: the statements of former students make it clear that Catholic students were taught to be suspicious of Protestants and vice versa. Understandably, though, the churches did save the government money over the years, drawing on the cheap labour that came with many of their religious orders, and thus operating the hostels for many years for less than it would have cost the government to run them.

Extracurricular activities

Compared with the mission schools, the hostels, with their gymnasiums and skating rinks, provided students with an improved range of extracurricular activities. The federal government provided $10 per student per year to help pay for extracurricular activities—an amount Anglican Church representative Henry Cook judged to be ridiculously small in 1958.[12] According to one observer at hostels in the 1960s, the sports teams were almost exclusively made up of Aboriginal students.[13] Cardinal Hall was equipped with a swimming pool, a covered arena, and a variety of gymnasium equipment that had been purchased through Roman Catholic fundraising efforts.[14] When the Oblates ended their involvement with the management of the residence in 1967, they sought to donate the facilities to the Northwest Territories government.[15] Following a series of ski clinics in 1963 and 1966, Cardinal Hall was also the centre of the Territorial Experimental Ski Training (1968).[16]

From the outset Akaitcho Hall had a student council that was responsible for writing a column in the local newspaper, organizing dances, and representing student issues. It was funded by revenue from a soft-drink machine.[17] Athletic recreation included skating, hockey, and basketball.[18] There were also square dancing, first-aid, science, rifle, fine arts, radio, and newspaper clubs.[19] Among the sports activities available at the Churchill residence were skating, hockey, broomball, bowling, and basketball. Students could also take part in amateur radio and chess clubs, gymnastics and square dancing groups, choir, Boy Scouts, and Cadets. As well, there were Friday night dances and Saturday afternoon and evening movies at a movie theatre in the residence.[20] At Yamoweh Hall in 1957, recreational evenings were held at the day

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

governing Akaitcho Hall as examples of "apartheid and paternalism." At meals students were to confine their conversation to their own table; girls were not to enter clothes or linen in the cafeteria, and soap and toothpaste would be issued only "on production of evidence of purchase of previous issue." Students required permission to leave the residence. On Sundays, they could not leave unless they had first attended church services because "religious teaching and practice has ever been a significant part of life in Canada's north." Students also needed permission to bring guests into the hostel: they were to be "limited to one guest per month." Students who brought cars to the hostel were obliged to turn their keys over to the administration since they were not allowed to drive their vehicles while in residence.[155] In defending the rules, the best that Indian Affairs Minister and future prime minister Jean Chrétien could say was that "over half" of the approximately 180 residents were eighteen or younger. He also rejected implications that the rules were racist by pointing out that seventy of the residents were non-Aboriginal.[156]

Within a month of Hoggart's column appearing, a student council was established at Akaitcho Hall and the rules were subjected to a review.[157] In private correspondence, Stuart M. Hodgson, the commissioner of the Northwest Territories, blamed the controversy on Steve Swann, a member of the Company of Young Canadians (a federal government community development agency), who had been in contact with a number of disaffected hostel residents. Hodgson added that unfortunately it had been necessary to discharge two of these students from the residence.[158] They had been involved in a verbal confrontation with residence officials whom they attempted to read out a statement critical of the Akaitcho Hall administration in the school assembly. The girls, who were judged to be capable students, were discharged, but a decision was made to provide funding to allow them to board at a private residence and finish their schooling.[159]

When he reviewed the new rules, Chrétien congratulated Hodgson for removing "questionable items" from the previous rules. He did observe that a proposed rule prohibiting students from consuming alcoholic beverages "anywhere and anytime" during the period that they were living at the residence "trespassed the personal rights of students who are over the age of 21." He suggested that the rules simply ban the use of alcoholic beverages in the hostel.[160] The finalized list of regulations was only five pages long (the previous rules had been twenty-seven pages) and contained none of the provisions that Hoggart had ridiculed.[161] The new rules were not always applied consistently. In the 1960s supervisors who had grounded a student for violating a residence rule might discover that an earlier supervisor had, without consultation, lifted the sentence. As the residence administrator noted, this practice was rendering "the disciplinary procedure ineffectual."[162]

When asked for a copy of Stringer Hall's residence guidelines in 1963, administrator Leonard Hobman said there were no written rules. However, from his letter it is

apparent that there was a set of expectations about student behaviour. Students were expected to be on time for meals, could chew gum anywhere but in the chapel and the dining room, and could smoke if they were sixteen or over (fifteen-year-olds could smoke if they had a note of permission from their parents). They could invite friends for meals and to spend the weekend at the hostel, and in turn could eat meals or spend weekends with friends—providing notice was given in advance. Older students could stay out late one night a week—but were expected to be back by midnight. Holman was proud of the fact that the majority of students respected this rule.[101] For example, on a Friday night in 1967, 104 students from Stringer Hall signed themselves out to attend movies or a local basketball game. Of this number, all but one student returned at the end of the evening; the one who did not return had decided to spend the night at an aunt's house.[102] Holman told students who had reached the legal drinking age that while they were legally entitled to frequent beer parlours, he preferred that they did not.[103]

Within months of a new residence administrator being appointed in 1974, Stringer Hall students submitted a petition calling for the dismissal of the assistant administrator. According to the petition, the official had assaulted students who lived in the residence and blackmailed them into doing things they did not wish to do.[104] Although a number of the students later signed a document saying that they wished to withdraw the petition, it is clear there were problems at the residence.[105] According to an investigation carried out by a Northwest Territories government inspector, staff members felt that the new administrator did not support staff on disciplinary matters, was absent from the residence on too many occasions, and "condoned drinking and other antisocial behaviour among the students." For his part, the new administrator felt that some staff members expected him "to run the residence like a 'prison.'" The inspector concluded that there was a "lack of communication and mutual respect amongst the staff."[106]

In the late 1980s, Grollier Hall had a student court that imposed penalties such as grounding and chores for violations of school rules.[107] As part of the court process, students had to fill out a form explaining what they had done, why they had done it, and what they were going to do about it.[108]

Gary Black, the assistant superintendent of education for the Northwest Territories, wrote after visiting Lapointe Hall in 1973 that the residence could "at best ... be described as tolerable. Only very extensive renovations would make it any more than tolerable." Black said there were numerous staff problems that he attributed to the authoritarian nature of the residence administrator. According to Black, "People outside the hostel, with some justification, see it as an island surrounded by heavily armed walls. Many integrating activities between hostel and town students which took place in previous years have disappeared."[109]

This comparison of the residence to a prison or a fortress was drawn not by a critic of the system but by one of its senior officials. The fact that he placed considerable responsibility for the problems in the residence on the administrator draws attention to the central importance of staffing for the success or failure of the residences. The following year the residence was taken over by the Koe Go Cho Society, a Dene organization in Fort Simpson.[170]

Supervision

Issues of discipline were complicated by the fact that the hostels were understaffed, supervisory jobs were poorly defined (in fact, often undefined), and hostel employees often had neither the background nor the training needed for the work they were doing. Low wages exacerbated all these problems.

A 1965 review of the hostels in the Northwest Territories identified problems in the staff-to-student ratios. At the Roman Catholic Breynat Hall in Fort Smith, there were seventeen supervisors, responsible for 145 students. There were only three male staff members to supervise sixty-three boys. At Stringer Hall in Inuvik, twenty-three staff members were responsible for 290 students. In September 1965, at the beginning of the Churchill Vocational Centre's second year of operation, one of the staff members took her concerns over staffing levels to Anglican Bishop Donald Marsh. She wrote, "There are not enough staff members employed so that staff members can have definite time off. Everyone suffers when people are expected to work without a break. Personally, if relief supervision doesn't appear in the near future, a replacement will be needed for me."[171]

A 1965 Indian Affairs report on conditions at Yukon Hall in Whitehorse observed:

> There appeared to be only one male and one female supervisor on duty with little attention being given to the organization of any program except the study situation, which was being supervised by Miss Loan. A spirit of friendliness and spontaneity, which is evident among many of our youngsters of high school age, appeared to be totally lacking at the Yukon Hostel.[172]

Six years later a review of Yukon Hall, which had just been merged with Coudert Hall, identified a number of problems with the child care service at the residence. Because the chief child care worker was also responsible for the direct supervision of a group of students, there was minimal "direct supervision of child care workers." Nor was there any formal orientation program for new child care workers. As a result, "many child care workers were uncertain as to their exact duties and responsibilities." The student-to-staff ratio was also very high: in one dormitory building, it was sixty-five to two.[173]

In January 1976 a father said that he was concerned about the safety of his son, who was living in Fleming Hall at Fort McPherson. L. Donavon said that on a visit to the hostel he saw a locked escape door, garbage piled up in front of the kitchen's escape door, insufficient water supply, and "children left alone on weekends with no supervisory staff or the staff drunk."[174]

An RCMP investigation into conditions at the hostel at Fort Simpson in 1977 concluded that the facility was understaffed. At any time the supervisor-to-student ratio was one to twenty when, in the opinion of the investigating officer, it should have been one to eight or one to ten. Frustrated staff would "yell, swear and actually strike the students." He noted that the supervisors acted as "house mothers," waking students in the morning, ensuring they had sufficient clothing, and putting them to bed at night. "Furthermore, they administer the discipline when required." While there was a list of rules for the hostel, there were no policies or directives regarding the method or type of discipline to be used: "The decision is left up to the supervisor."[175]

Dormitory supervisors were largely untrained. As the author of the 1965 report, Joseph Katz, observed, "Those hostel personnel directly involved in giving social, academic, spiritual and group guidance are as much in need of specialized training as are chefs and the like."[176] The fact that the student records at the hostel were judged to be "rudimentary" and "ineffective as guides to other supervisors or other interested personnel" is just another reflection of the need for better training.[177] In his notes from the mid-1960s, former supervisor Rodney Clifton observed that few of his colleagues at Stringer Hall were properly trained to work in the North. They had undergone little or nothing in the way of cross-cultural education, knew little about the North or the people who lived there, and did not understand the role of the hostel itself. Nor was any training available to help them address this shortcoming.[178] In his opinion many hostel employees were guided by a generally racist assumption that students' misbehaviour was the result of their not caring about anything.[179]

An investigation into conditions at the Churchill Vocational Centre concluded that the supervisors had not been provided with written job descriptions before they were hired: "It would appear that each Supervisor has a different understanding of his conditions of employment and they all are unanimous in agreeing that the actual conditions they are experiencing are somewhat different than those described when they were hired." The problem was compounded by the fact that there still did not appear to be written job descriptions. As a result, the Northern Affairs employee conducting the investigation recommended "no time be lost in reducing their conditions of employment to writing."

In addition, the residence administrator was locked in a power struggle with the school principal and the residence matron (who was the wife of a regional Northern Affairs official). Residence staff members found themselves in the middle of these conflicts.[180] By October 1965 five supervisors had resigned, although eventually the

resignations were withdrawn.[181] Staff problems would recur: in November of 1971 it was reported that staff "morale was so low it was affecting the students."[182] Five staff members resigned in August 1972.[183]

In December 1974 students from the hostel went to the home of the chair of the Fort McPherson Settlement Council, John Simon, to complain that the hostel administrator was drinking and verbally abusing students. Simon visited the residence and discovered that the administrator was scolding a number of children and had been drinking. It was recognized that there was a "real lack of supervision at the hostel," since "liquor, beer and glue can be smuggled into the dorms and not detected by the staff."[184] In 1974 the Northwest Territories government was considering closing Fleming Hall because of low enrolment. Students would be either placed in local homes or sent to Inuvik.[185] The hostel was closed at the end of the 1975–76 school year.[186]

The understaffing of the schools led to a lack of supervision that could have tragic consequences. On June 11, 1972, two boys who were living at Stringer Hall in Inuvik left the residence for a walk. Robert Toasi and David Kasoni found a canoe in Boot Lake, on the edge of the community. Using boards as paddles, they set out in the canoe, travelling through a channel to another lake. When they attempted their return journey, they tipped the canoe. David was able to swim to shore but Robert Toasi, who was fifteen years old, drowned. His body was found the following evening. An inquest returned a verdict of accidental drowning.[187]

Heavy workload and low wages led to constant turnover. The resignation of two supervisors at Akaitcho Hall in 1966 prompted K. W. Hawkins, the administrator for the Mackenzie District, to observe, "During the past two years we have been plagued with a steady turnover of supervisory staff at Akaitcho Hall and for long periods have operated without adequate staff." Given the wages that were being offered, it was "almost impossible to recruit and hold people with only minimal qualifications, let alone those who are as qualified as we feel they should be." Hawkins feared that "we may shortly face a situation where it will be impossible to operate Akaitcho Hall at all."[188]

Despite such concerns, wages remained low. In 1973 Evelyn Nind wrote a letter to the Northwest Territories government and compared two government job advertisements that ran on the same day: one for a dormitory supervisor at Akaitcho Hall and one for a personal secretary for the deputy commissioner of the Northwest Territories. The pay range for the supervisor was $6,632 to $8,034; for the secretary, it was $7,513 to $9,055. She asked, "Can we assume from these two advertisements that in the Government's opinion a secretary is worth more than a person charged with the responsibility of guiding and counseling our youth into maturity?"[189]

Because staff were poorly supervised, conflict with students became inevitable. In 1987 members of the Kitikmeot Regional Education Committee (KREC) in the central Arctic visited Yellowknife to meet with students going to school there from their region.

Mel Pardy, a Northwest Territories education official who was part of the KREC delegation, reported that the students described the Akaitcho supervisors as "uncaring and ... expressing little, if any, genuine concern for the welfare of the individual student."

> Only a couple of supervisors were perceived as genuinely caring for the students' welfare, the majority of the supervisors perceived as being there only to enforce the rules. Supervisors viewed as "probation officers," who are "looking over our shoulder every minute," and "just waiting to catch us doing something wrong" only serves to illustrate the level of student paranoia.[130]

There were two dominant disciplinary issues in the northern hostels. One was the problem of students running away. The second was relatively new to residential schooling: alcohol—and later drug—use and abuse.

Runaways

The hostels in Whitehorse had an ongoing problem with runaways. By the beginning of October 1960, F. Barnes, the acting administrator of Yukon Hall, the Protestant hostel in Whitehorse, reported a disturbing number of runaways.

The problem was complicated since many of the children had been admitted without signed admission slips. His description of the four main causes of truancy provides a glimpse into the life of the institution.

> (a) Relaxation of Discipline and absence of Locked doors—We have treated the children leniently and kindly and they probably attribute it to "softness." This I understand they are not used to but I believe it will "pay off" in the long run. We have given them much more freedom than they are used to and they are taking advantage of it. However, I would like to see it given a fair trial even though we do lose some older children by it. Mr. Grant feels that every child who runs away should be brought back and punished but I have been dubious about corporal punishment since I don't even have the admission slips yet to know which children have been signed over to us.
>
> (b) Lack of understanding on the part of the parents and children alike as to the need and value of an education. It seems to me that the various religious groups have been after the parents to send their children to their particular school until the parents feel it is a privilege for them to send their children anywhere. Hence if the children don't like it here the parents will just keep them at home etc. The children complain bitterly at having to make their beds and sweep the floors which should "all be done for them" according to one father I encountered.

> (c) Self-consciousness—Many older children were brought in who are only in Grades 5 or 6 and they feel so out of place with white kiddies 3 and 4 years younger that I can hardly blame them for giving up.
>
> (d) Homesickness—This can be a real illness and many are homesick and frightened. The surroundings and faces are strange and the first or second night the fire alarm went off frightening everyone. No one knows why it did and it still does on occasion but not at night any more thank goodness.[191]

Shortly after Barnes wrote this note, a number of girls ran away from the residence. The school official sent to retrieve them "met with opposition on the part of parents toward the children returning." The father of one of the children complained that a beating from the principal had left his daughter with a swollen hand. Barnes did not accept the allegation, saying, "No child has yet been given corporal punishment this fall." Barnes sought permission from Indian Affairs to have the RCMP bring back those who were refusing to return to school.[192]

Coudert Hall, the Roman Catholic hostel in Whitehorse, adopted a policy of simply discharging runaway students who were sixteen years of age or older. When discharging two such runaways in 1961, hostel principal E. A. Cullinane noted that the girls had "responded admirably to the loving care and firm discipline administered here." But while they had put considerable effort into their studies, they had been frustrated by the "academic-type education which has been imposed upon them." It was, he wrote, "very sad indeed that we do not have available for them a more realistic and practical curriculum designed to develop their feminine qualities and provide them with the specialized training which they need in order to become good wives and good mothers."

Cullinane was not sure how to punish runaways who were under the age of sixteen, since he felt strapping them "only makes matters worse, intensifying their resentment and hostility towards authority."[193] His successor Marcel Piché reported in 1965 that he had strapped three girls for "their conduct during the Sourdough week-end" in Yellowknife. On a previous weekend, they had run off and, according to Piché, engaged in bad behaviour.[194]

In 1964 two fifteen-year-old girls and two fourteen-year-old girls were returned to their home communities after running away from Coudert Hall and spending the weekend in town. The administrator was reported to be relieved that the older girls were gone since they had been "troublesome in the hostel."[195] In 1967 the Coudert Hall principal issued instructions that a fourteen-year-old girl who had run away for the third time be returned to her parents once she was located.[196]

Many of the children in the Northwest Territories were from isolated settlements, thousands of kilometres from the school residences. In 1967 one student from Stringer Hall in Inuvik bought a ticket for a flight to his home community, packed

his belongings, and left without telling either his friends or the school administrators that he was leaving. At his request his mother had sent him the money for the ticket home.[107] In February 1968 the Mounted Police were called in after three girls, aged thirteen to fifteen, took off from Stringer Hall with only "several blankets ... plus a bit of food off the evening snack cart." The father of one of the girls had recently said he would take her out of school if she did not behave. They were located two days later in a private house in Inuvik.[108]

The most successful and safest way to turn truant was to simply refuse to be returned to school after a visit home. In 1965, for example, thirty-four students did not return to Akaitcho Hall from spring break.[109] Each Easter, Peggy Tobogannah's parents would visit the Inuvik hostel and take her and her siblings, by plane, to Reindeer Station to visit relatives. At the end of the visit, Peggy, along with other children, would try to avoid returning to the hostel. "When the plane would come and pick us up, those of us from the hostel, we used to hide because we didn't want to go back. But they'd search for us, and search for us in the hills, and then they'd take us back to the hostel."[110]

Two boys under the age of ten attempted to run away from Stringer Hall on four separate occasions in 1972. They were either brought back or returned each time.[111] On June 23, 1972, three boys, Lawrence Jack Elanik, Bernard Andersson, and Dennis Illeck, ran away from Stringer Hall.[112] Andersson was found alive a few kilometres from Tuktoyaktuk. He had walked approximately 150 kilometres and lost almost fourteen kilograms. His feet were badly swollen. Elanik's body was located, but the search for Illeck was called off. Stringer Hall principal L. Holman reported:

> Everything that could possibly be done, was done, to try and locate these boys before it was too late. The R.C.M.P., the Regional Director's Office & Staff, owners of private aircraft, the various Air Services, Helicopter Operators[sic], private citizens and the men of the Armed Forces at Inuvik, did a valiant job.[113]

Rather than running away, other students employed more passive strategies to resist and cope with life at the hostel. One coping mechanism was for students to "shut down" their emotions. Lavinia Brown explains that being at the hostel made her block out everything she should have known and experienced as a child. "We were shut down," she says.[114] Richard King, who taught at the Catholic school in the early 1960s, observed, "By the time the children are in their third year at school, they simply prefer routine as the simplest way of coping with life. The spark of learning for learning's sake is gone, replaced by a programmatic gamesmanship. Decisions are detectable events unless one directly benefits from them."[115]

Alcohol and drugs

In the early winter of 1950, a student living at Akaitcho Hall died of exposure, apparently after becoming inebriated at a weekend party.[108] His death underscored the fact that the consumption of alcohol – by both board staff and students – was an ongoing problem at the northern residences from the day they opened until they closed. Shortly after Akaitcho Hall opened, the residence administration began dismissing students for drunkenness.[109] The residence adopted a policy under which students would be dismissed after their second alcohol-related incident.[110]

The Akaitcho Hall policy initially had not only banned alcohol from the residence but prohibited residents from consuming alcohol even off the property. Since the legal drinking age at that time was twenty-one, the ban on alcohol consumption was largely in keeping with territorial legislation. This changed in 1970, when the drinking age in both the Northwest Territories and the Yukon was lowered to nineteen.[111] This exacerbated what was already a serious problem for the hostels.

At Akaitcho Hall staff members were not allowed to drink while on duty or while they were in the hostel. However, a note by the administrator of Akaitcho Hall in 1961 suggests these rules were sometimes broken. The administrator reminded staff members that they should not drink while on duty and that he was "not prepared to accept that inebriation or semi-inebriation is a proper state for staff members ... on duty or off duty."[112] At the same hostel in 1971, a boys' supervisor resigned over his "drinking problem." Discussing the resignation, the hostel administrator commented that it was a good thing, since the supervisor's drinking had "been causing concern and anxiety."[113] At Stringer Hall, drinking among the staff was also a problem. According to Rodney Gibbon, some of his colleagues "drink quite heavily," and drinking caused some staff to be "late for work or turn up slightly inebriated."[114] Controlling this staff drinking was a constant problem for administrators and other teachers. At Stringer Hall, staff were not often disciplined for drinking. One assistant was fired and then quickly re-hired.[115]

Student consumption of alcohol was not only illegal, it could end in violence. In 1971 four students from Akaitcho Hall (two aged seventeen, two aged eighteen) spent an evening at a cabin owned by the hostel. They were drinking, and one of them had borrowed a handgun from another student at the school. For reasons that were not clear, he shot and wounded the other three.[116] A Grade Ten student was discharged from Akaitcho Hall after she attacked and beat another female resident while inebriated. The victim required four stitches to close the wounds on her head.[117] In 1980 a mother from Deline complained that a woman in Inuvik was hosting drinking parties for students from Grollier Hall. Her said her son had attended one of these parties and was subsequently accused of assaulting a person he met there.[118]

Discharge from residence carried serious consequences. Students who had been dismissed from residence on two occasions were no longer eligible for financial support from the Residence Scholarship residential boarding program.[47]

From the beginning the rules were applied with discretion. In 1919, two girls, one sixteen, one twenty, attended a house party in Yellowknife, after saying they were going to church. When one of them returned to the residence in a state of inebriation, the Mounted Police were dispatched to the house. The other girl was located and returned to the board. Although the residence rules of the day prohibited students from consuming alcohol in any location, the decision was made to discharge the twenty-year-old, who was judged to be a bad influence, and to allow the sixteen-year-old to remain.[48] In 1920 the district superintendent of schools for the Mackenzie District of the Northwest Territories complained that the Hay River administration had not been sufficiently strict in dealing with a "recent drinking episode involving a number of girls from Hay River." He also thought that some of the girls involved should not be allowed to return to the residence for the next school year.[49] In June 1923 the administration of Hay River recommended against admitting at least [illegible] former students in the coming school year. In most cases, the reasons were [illegible] problems with alcohol.[50]

Many students were discharged and later refused readmission to hostels because of their involvement with alcohol. In 1919 approximately twenty of the older students at Coqualeetza were going into town in the evenings and coming back drunk, occasionally bringing alcohol back into the hostel with them. On the ninth occasion that one twenty-year-old returned drunk in a three-month period, the head of Coqualeetza sought the permission of the superintendent of schools in Ottawa to expel the students.[51] In 1921, Metlakatla Hall administrator Leonard Hobson recommended the discharge of three students from Metlakatla Hall for belligerence, disobedience, and under-age drinking.[52] The following year eleven students were discharged from the hostel for "drinking and intoxication, obscenities, insolent and rude behaviour, disobedience and refusal to comply with hostel regulations, and foul language. Lack of [illegible] left the school, feared and [illegible]."[53]

In 1924 Pilla Irving (then known as Peter Gzowski), a former residential school student who had become a member of the territorial council, intervened on behalf of a boy from his constituency who had been expelled from Akaitcho Hall for fighting. Irving, who felt that the boy was a "good student," said he was concerned about the case because he was "very aware of the kinds of things that can go on while away from home." He asked that the boy be given one more chance. "What will happen when he [returns] to Franklin [after being expelled]? The rest of society will forget about him and he will never be able to get a proper job anywhere."[54] In this case Irving's ruse appears to have been unsuccessful: the June 1927 quarterly return lists the boy as having been expelled on December 1924.[55]

Parliament. In raising the issue on their behalf, CYC council noted that while the parents did not oppose the idea of sending their children away to a centralized high school, they viewed Lyndon "as a particularly evil place." In a letter to Northern Development Minister Jean Chrétien, CYC council said, "I am given to understand that these views are shared by other communities in the area."[105]

Despite this, a large federal school, the Gordon Robertson Educational Centre (GREC), and the Ukkivik residence were both in operation by 1971. Shortly after the school opened, the principal of the federal day school, C. D. King, complained about the lack of discipline at the residence. He had concluded that there were

> students running about all night and some staying at undesirable places, male and female students seen in dark corners of the residence necking and petting, students living in the warehouse, boxes of shaving lotion bottles found under the residence, boys visiting girls' rooms, female students practising prostitution, etc., etc.

King said he could not blame parents for not wishing to send their children to Lyndon: "I would not want my own children living at our residences at present."[106]

Following a visit to the new Ukkivik residence, Northwest Territories education official N. J. Murphy was expressed his concern over reports that "certain residents live in fear because of the drinking and fighting that goes on in the Frobisher Bay Pupil Residence." He informed the residence director that he and his staff could not "modify the behaviour of a pupil who terrorizes other pupils," and that the pupil would have to be expelled.[107]

As the school year was drawing to a close, Principal King requested an investigation into reports that "female students are frightened to live in the residence," that one student "has threatened students" and another student had "threatened and beaten male students," that two male students "have visited female students' rooms," and that a third male student invited female students into his room where he offered them alcohol.[108]

In June 1972, at the end of the residence's first year of operation, administrator Enid McKenzie resigned to take a job with the Manitoba government.[109] His successor James Lyle lasted only a few months before he quit in November 1972. In his letter of resignation he wrote, "I find it impossible to carry on as administrator," adding that his reasons for leaving were numerous, but he did not wish to "point fingers in any direction and create hard feelings in many areas."[110] A review concluded that among the reasons for his resignation was an incident in which a supervisor had been attacked by a resident. Discussion among the staff had also led two supervisors to resign, and two other supervisors had been sent out during the term for what was termed "psychiatric assessment."[111]

That fall a group of students signed a letter outlining their frustrations with hostel life:

> We speak but no one seems to listen. We can't have confidential conversations with our supervisors because everything we say is recorded in a report book that any of the staff could read. So we keep everything to ourselves and our tensions cause us to damage the building or fight with one another because of frustrations that can't be communicated. Many of the students try to retreat into the past because the past seemed happy, and reject the future because it seems unhappy and confused.[209]

A child care worker who resigned from the residence the following year wrote a lengthy report outlining the frustrations encountered while working in the facility. The worker felt that students were not properly clothed, and that vision and hearing problems were not adequately addressed.

> There are also problems with students having need for psychiatric treatment or, at least, far more extensive counselling than can be received anywhere on Baffin Island. The residence is not equipped to deal with these individuals and although, in some instances, staff has recommended further treatment or consideration, the present policy is to send the individuals back to the settlement where they won't cause "us" any more trouble. Considering that most of their problems are probably rooted in the Eskimo-white man identity struggle, it would seem much more logical to treat these students rather than to let their problems grow and erupt in the settlement.[210]

Mary Ollibuk Tatty was sent to Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife because of the Iqaluit residence's poor reputation.

> Back in the '60s, my late mother had a choice of sending me to a place called Frobisher Bay one time, now it's Iqaluit, or Yellowknife. I didn't know where my mother was gonna send me, but then a couple older ladies that were ahead of me that went to Ukkivik came home pregnant, so my mom sent me the other way. So, I was happy she did, because, you know, ... I wanted my mom to trust me if she's the one pushing me to finish grade 12. Out of her 16 kids, I wanted her to be proud of me.[211]

It would appear the parental concerns about the Churchill and Iqaluit communities were well founded, yet the federal government failed to recognize the legitimacy of the concerns or to take steps to effectively eliminate the problems. Nor were Churchill and Iqaluit the only dangerous communities. In 1959 a Yellowknife man was convicted of seducing a student in residence at Akaitcho Hall. He was also convicted of supplying alcohol to a minor. He received a one-year sentence. The students involved in the incident were expelled from the residence and returned to their home communities.[212]

A sixteen-year-old student from Arviat living at Akaitcho Hall was raped by a young man she met in a Yellowknife restaurant in November 1971.[264] That same year a female student from Stringer Hall was raped by four young men whom she met in an Inuvik coffee shop.[265] School life may have also presented a threat to the students' mental health. In December 1977 a student from Iqaluktuuttiaq living at Akaitcho Hall attempted suicide. When he was released from hospital, he was returned to his home community.[266]

Another parental concern was that their children might become pregnant while at residential school. When this happened, the usual response was to expel the students. In 1962, a student left the Roman Catholic hostel in Whitehorse after becoming pregnant.[267] In 1968, another student did not return to school after the Christmas holiday because she was pregnant.[268] In the face of these pressures, the hostels could offer little in the way of support. By the 1989–90 school year, Akaitcho Hall had a chaplain who was providing counselling; in November and December 1989, he saw nine students about alcohol or substance abuse, three students about loneliness and adjustment to dormitory life, five students with relationship issues, and two students who were dealing with grief.[269]

Abuse

Two of the hostels in the Northwest Territories became notorious for the extended history of sexual abuse of students that took place while they were in operation: Grollier Hall in Inuvik and Turquetil Hall in Chesterfield Inlet, both Catholic residences. Four of the Grollier Hall staff were convicted of abusing students. Two of the convictions took place while the men were staff members or shortly after their resignations. In both cases, neither the school nor government authorities conducted a sufficient investigation. As a result, many years later, both of these men were convicted of additional assaults that had been committed while they worked at Grollier Hall. For a twenty-year period from 1959 to 1979, there was at least one sexual predator on staff at Grollier Hall at all times.[270]

The allegations of sexual assault at Turquetil Hall, which operated for a much shorter period and closed in 1969, were not raised until the 1990s. The matter was investigated by the RCMP, which eventually recommended against the laying of charges. In her report on the hostel, Katherine Peterson concluded that "serious incidents of sexual assault did in fact occur at the Chesterfield Inlet school during its years of operation."[271]

In the early 1960s, two men working and living at Fleming Hall, the Anglican hostel in Fort McPherson, were convicted on charges stemming from inappropriate relations with minors.[272]

In 1971 the federal government became aware that an employee of the Catholic Coudert Hall in Whitehorse was sexually assaulting students. Rather than bringing the matter to the attention of the police and offering assistance to the family, the government simply dismissed the man. He was not prosecuted—or convicted—for these activities for another nineteen years.[273] In 1993 a former employee of both Grollier Hall and Lower Post school in British Columbia—which was attended by students from the Yukon—was convicted of having sexually assaulted students at Lower Post in the late 1950s.[274]

Convictions present only a partial picture. Not all students were believed when they brought forward claims of abuse. It is, however, clear that the sexual abuse of students was much more prevalent than the number of convictions suggests. For example, as of September 14, 2014, 1,383 residents of the Northwest Territories had made claims that were admitted under the Independent Assessment Process for compensation for injury arising from sexual abuse while in residences and schools. Similar claims from 344 Nunavut residents and 438 Yukon residents had been admitted. Inuit from northern Québec also attended schools in the North; they would be included in the total of 1,776 claims for compensation admitted from Québec residents.[275] (An admitted claim is an application made by anyone eligible for compensation under the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. Because the adjudication process is ongoing, it is not yet possible to determine how many of these claims have been compensated.)

Former students spoke about their experiences of abuse at these schools and hostels in both public and private statement-gathering events organized by the TRC. Paul Voudrach spoke about being abused by a staff member at Grollier Hall in the 1960s. "Before my 8th birthday," he said, "I was taken from my bed with my mouth covered.... I don't remember going into the room, his room. But that morning [after] ... I can remember clearly the time it happened.... I got up at 6:30, because the nun always came out at seven with her clapper to wake everybody up. I had to go back to my bed before that happened. And on my way out I was asked to take some candy because that was where the candies were when we were allowed to buy them before the Sunday movie night. I said, "No I'm not going to take 'em." And I said, "I have to get back to my bed before the nun wakes up."[276]

Girls were also abused. When speaking at the Inuvik TRC public panel, Beatrice Bernhardt said that she'd been abused at Grollier Hall in "that little stairway, in the little playroom."[277] Veronica Dewar, who lived at Churchill in the 1960s, explained how she was sexually harassed by teachers. One time, she remembers, a male teacher approached her, and "he was drunk [and] trying to touch my skin." On another occasion, "in the bathroom, our supervisor tried to take a picture of me totally naked when I was taking a bath. These are not good. And they're not proper [actions]."[278] Margaret Bouvier spoke of abuse that occurred after she was called into a priest's office at

Lapointe Hall. "I know I didn't do anything wrong. And till this very day, I don't even know [what he said]. He put me on his lap and lifted up my dress and stuck his finger in me. You know when I think about that, like, what are you supposed to do? You were supposed to trust them. I wanted my mom and my dad. I wanted my dad so badly. I tried running away; I got caught. They told me they were gonna tie me up if I tried to run again. And I couldn't talk about anything. I was so scared."[279]

The abuse left the victims feeling confused. They had been taught to respect the church, school, and government authorities at the hostel, and to trust them as people charged with caring for them; however, being abused by these same people was difficult for the children to understand. Paul Voudrach described his abuser as someone "who was supposed to be a trusted man."[280] Dewar was just as confused as to why a man would start touching her: "Those [actions] are all totally foreign to me [as a teenage girl], especially when you don't know them and ... they're not related and they're trying to do sexual advances to you."[281]

Coupled with this confusion was a fear of telling anyone about the abuse. Because of either shame or fear of reprisals, few victims of abuse told other hostel staff, their own siblings, or even their parents about their abuse. Andre Tautu, a victim of abuse at Chesterfield Inlet, was, like Voudrach, a young boy when he was abused by male staff. Tautu explains how the pervasive power of the priests and the Catholic Church made him and other children too afraid to tell anyone, even their own parents, about the abuse. Throughout his life, Tautu was unable to explain to his mother, who was deeply Catholic, what had happened at the school to make him stop going to classes.[282] Elijah Nashook explains how he refused to return to Churchill after his first year of school because he could not face seeing his abuser at the school every day: leaving the hostel was "my mechanism to survive," he explains.[283] For people like Voudrach, Tautu, and Nashook, the fear of disclosure would continue long after they left school and their abusers had died. In his TRC testimony shortly before his own death, Andre Tautu explained that, even as his mother lay on her deathbed, fear and/or shame kept him from telling her about the sexual abuse, and that it was not until the early 1990s that he started to talk about it. Paul Voudrach and Veronica Dewar made a first disclosure about their abuse only at the TRC hearings in 2011. As Voudrach said in his statement, "I carried it [around] ..., that sexual abuse and assault, for forty-nine years."[284]

Jimmie Itulu recalled enjoying his first year at the hostel in Iqaluit, but at some point during his second year at school, he was abused by the dormitory supervisor. "If we were really sick, we had to stay in [at the dormitory] and we had supervisors at the residence," he explained. On one of these sick days, Itulu was abused.

> I was in my room. And our supervisor went into the room to see how I am. And [he] stated: "I'll make you feel better. Go on your stomach and [I] will massage your back." [And he] start massaging my back. And told me to turn around and lie on my back, and I started getting suspicious at that point. I've never seen

> somebody being massaged from the front. And it was at that point that he started abusing me.[285]

Eric Idlaut said he was abused by his roommate at Ukkivik, an older male who also happened to be related to him. "It turns out that every time I would go to sleep that he would molest me, because our rooms are locked and nobody is going to enter our room. We are totally alone in our room."[286]

Some students found the whole experience abusive. Agnes Chief attended Lower Post school and lived in both Coudert Hall and Yukon Hall in Whitehorse. She described her life in these institutions as little more than "Hell on earth."

> I call it the 'hate factory' where you learn to distrust everybody because there are some kids in there who are always willing to make points at the expense of other people. I saw little girls in the recreation room standing on tables with dirty panties over their head because they can't articulate, they can't speak. They're not allowed to speak in their own language and they can't speak in English. And I remember seeing little boys being put in dresses because they dare to say hi to their sisters.[287]

The ongoing abuse of students at these institutions represents a complete failure on the part of the government and churches to properly screen and supervise employees. When problems were identified, neither the police, nor the church, nor the government conducted thorough investigations. As a result, the extent of abuse was not properly identified and victims were not provided with the support that they required. Instead, the seriousness of the violations appears to have been downplayed. Having convinced—and forced—parents to send their children to residences and having made promises about the quality of the care that would be provided, the federal government failed to ensure the children of the North were safe from abuse. The state had failed to uphold its basic duty to the children and parents of northern Canada.

Grandin College and the Churchill Vocational Centre

In 1960 the Roman Catholic Oblate order opened Grandin Home in Fort Smith, then the capital of the Northwest Territories. This facility differed in a number of ways from the other hostels that had been built in the western Arctic. The federal government, for example, had paid for the construction of the other seven hostels. It operated one of them directly and entered into contracts with religious organizations to operate the other six. Grandin Home, however, was a Catholic initiative. It was originally intended to serve as a seminary for the training of boys, age twelve and up, for the priesthood. They hoped to recruit at least twenty students in the first year.[288]

Four years later a new building, renamed Grandin College, opened with a capacity for forty students. In announcing the expansion, Oblate Paul Piché explained that he was convinced

> the future of the North rests on those native people of the North who are bound to remain in the country, and who through higher education will be prepared for leadership in taking over community responsibilities in their own portion of the country. In order to reach this goal, means must be sought to provide these students with every suitable way of completing their high school studies with more than just fair or merely passing marks.

In seeking federal funding for the residence, Piché argued that the establishment of the college was a complement to the hostel system, providing an atmosphere and training that was not available in hostels for those students who showed leadership potential.

> In the present hostels, this group of students would be continually mixed with others of less talent, working toward undetermined goals, or even none in particular, having varied interests, sometimes far removed from obtaining good grades in class, and frequently as not, little inclined to make any noticeable effort to improve academically.

As envisioned, Grandin College was to have an enrolment of thirty-five boys who were taking courses at the Grades Nine to Twelve level at the local day school. Since the residence was no longer focused on preparing students for the priesthood, it could also take in female students. The female students, Piché said, would be housed in the Grandin Home since the existing Catholic-run residences in Fort Smith (Breynat Hall) and Fort Simpson (Lapointe Hall) were "very inadequate for girls desiring to pursue high school studies."[200]

Grandin College's first rector, Father Jean Pochat-Cotilloux, is generally credited with both the school's change in direction and its success. In an interview given in retirement, he said, "It's okay to train priests. I'm not against it, but there are more urgent needs. You have to build a nation first." Basing his approach on the work of the Catholic social philosopher Jacques Maritain, he focused on leadership development. As he recalled, his message to the students was, "They won't give you power, you have to take it. You are the leaders of tomorrow. Run for election. Take whatever you can. Be greedy ... or you'll bow, shuffle and be on welfare all your life."[200]

In 1965 there were fifty-four students at Grandin College. At that time the Oblates were planning to offer university entrance courses. The students continued to attend the Fort Smith local day school. However, there were two "degree-holding" priests to provide them with academic support. The college had a gymnasium, a band, and a glee club. The Oblates hoped to develop a core group of students who would serve as community leaders throughout the North. As Maurice Beauregard told the press

in 1965, "From Grandin, youngsters should be able to organize recreation in a small community."[104]

Rosa Van Camp was one of the first girls to enrol in Grandin College in 1964.

> I was the youngest in the girls' residence. Academic expectations were high, and this was physically evident within the building. Every student had a desk in his/her room, a library was available in both the girls' and boys' residences, and supervisors were available day and evening as tutors or counsellors. Study hours and chores became the norm for all of us. Gradually music and band lessons, sport activities and camping trips were included in our schedule. These enabled the students to participate in activities together and develop lasting bonds of friendship.[105]

In addition, "Slavey, Chip and Dogrib were spoken at Grandin College. We were never punished for it, unlike the practice in some of the residences in the past."[106] Another former student, Barney Masuzumi, said that at Grandin he was told that if any staff member laid a hand on him, he could have him charged with abuse.[107]

In a school newsletter from 1981, a number of students contributed their assessment of what the school had done for them. One girl wrote that when she first came to Grandin College, she was "very selfish, cheeky and bad-tempered." After three years she was "a totally different person, a bit cheeky but in a good way." A second student wrote that the school had given him "the needed confidence in myself in order to pursue and accomplish the goals I have set for myself." A third wrote, "At Grandin, Education comes first." While students could participate in school sports teams, "if you are behind in your school work, you are forced to quit your sports."[108]

Initially Northern Affairs officials opposed providing any funding to Grandin College. It was argued that it would undermine existing schools and residences and lead to needless duplication.[109] The Oblate request for funding also raised questions as to whether decisions over education should be made by the federal government or the territorial government. In the ensuing debate, the deputy minister of Northern Affairs, E. A. Côté, favoured funding Grandin College since the federal government had a responsibility for First Nations and Inuit education.[110] It was not until the spring of 1966 that the federal government formally offered to provide Grandin College with funding.[111] Rather than funding it with the same method as it used for the other hostels in the Northwest Territories, Northern Affairs agreed to provide the college with a boarding allowance.[112] As late as November 1967, the funds had yet to start flowing to the college.[113]

Under Pochat-Cotilloux's leadership, Grandin College developed a reputation as a "leadership factory." Ethel Blondin-Andrew, the first Aboriginal woman appointed to the federal cabinet, said she was "saved" by Grandin College, where she "learned that discipline, including physical fitness, was essential."[114] Antoine Mountain transferred to Grandin College in 1965 after he had "had just about all I could take of Grollier

Hall, having pretty well shut down emotionally." There, he said, the students "were expected to perform at the very top of our abilities, and not only academically, but also in other activities, sports, the Scottish Bishop's Orchestral Band, which I avoided like the bubonic plague." While a student, Mountain joined the arts club and, along with a local art teacher, Violet Shawanda, "went on drawing field trips to local exotic locales like the Pelican Rapids."[111] Among the future northern Dene and Métis leaders who passed through Grandin College in the 1960s were Nick Sibbeston, Stephen Kakfwi, John T'Seleie, James Wah-shee, and Michael Miltenberger.[112] Pochat-Cotilloux was credited with emphasizing leadership training at the school. For this he was fondly remembered by many former students. In 2005 forty to fifty former students gathered to celebrate Pochat-Cotilloux's eightieth birthday. Melody McLeod recounted how "each individual was encouraged to cultivate their own interests and abilities." The school was set apart, she felt, by the fact that students were never discouraged from speaking their own minds or speaking in their own language.[113]

Pochat-Cotilloux left Grandin College and Fort Smith in 1970 to return to missionary work in Behchoko (Fort Rae), near Yellowknife.[114] His departure from Grandin appears to have led to an internal rethinking of the college's role. An unsigned review conducted by a staff member at the end of the 1972–73 school year noted that of the forty students who had started that year, only twenty-seven were left. The author felt that the boys were "not really that serious about education," while the "girls' spirit has been at 'a low' this year. The older girls were involved with boys from town and by the same token their interest was divided." In addition the boys' and girls' supervisors had left in the middle of the year.

The author of the assessment had been with the college since late 1969. In reviewing the school's history, he noted that in 1964 there had been a shift from educating boys for the priesthood to educating leaders. The question, he asked, was, "Did we form Christian Leaders?" It was his opinion when he arrived at the college that it had hit a new low. Enrolment had grown too large, not enough attention was being paid to who was being let into the school, and the "staff had been of low or inferior quality." He questioned whether, without significant change, the school could become the "centre for Christian education" that it was intended to be.[115]

Such concerns continued. In 1973 the school administration wrote that he had serious reservations about the residence's ability to "give an opportunity to some Catholic teenagers to complete their High School studies with a Catholic input." His major objection lay in the fact that the students attended the local public school. "It is rather impossible for a Priest at Grandin to undo what the Public School is doing and at the same time give a positive Catholic Education." It might, he wrote, be preferable to close the school and relocate the Grandin College students to Yellowknife, where they could attend a Catholic day school.[116]

In 1965 the Mackenzie-Yukon Indian Director decided to close Grandin College. Bishop Paul Piché wrote that the goal of "bringing about a generation of men and women who would contribute to society at large as well as to the Church" had been partially achieved since many former students had gone on to play leadership roles in northern society. However, it was felt that "Christian family formation should now take precedence over academic work."[42]

Grandin College's impact was pervasive. When he was education minister for the Northwest Territories in 1969, Stephen Kakfwi proposed the establishment of a northern residential school with a focus on academics and leadership training. Drawing from his own experiences at Grandin College, Kakfwi told the media that such institutions can create "a community where young people go to challenge themselves and are pushed to do well. You can see tremendous growth in self-confidence and belief in themselves."[43]

Grandin College was not the only institution to play a significant role in forming Aboriginal leadership in the North. Paul Quassa notes that the Churchill Vocational Centre in the late 1960s was a home for many future Inuit politicians from both Nunavut and Nunavik, including himself, Sheila Watt-Cloutier, Pitka Ittinuar, John Amagoalik, and James Arvaluk. He explained that, along with these other future leaders, he was exposed to a much wider world than any of them would have otherwise known had they stayed in their camps or settlements. Quassa talked of how he learned about land claims in Alaska, the working of the Canadian Parliament, and the general atmosphere of social movements in the late 1960s.[44] Likewise, John Amagoalik has said, "We [at Churchill] were inspired by outside forces, by individuals like Martin Luther King Jr., John F. Kennedy, and Pierre Trudeau."[45] Amagoalik and Quassa agree that the combination of these outside forces and the fact that Churchill was home to Inuit from across the Arctic were crucial reasons why many of the students from Churchill became so involved in politics. For both men, Churchill in the late 1960s was where they, and other future Inuit leaders, developed the urge to create change in the Arctic: "We spent a lot of time [at Churchill] discussing how we were going to change the Arctic," said Amagoalik.[46] Paul Quassa likewise remembers that it was at Churchill "where a lot of us started developing a rebellious way of thinking. Probably we [thought we] were old enough to stand up to politicians."[47] In the 1970s, many of the graduates of Churchill and Grandin played central roles in the creation of the new territory of Nunavut.

Some former students formed positive relations with federal education officials as well. Ralph Ritcey, who headed vocational training for Northern Affairs in the 1950s, was fondly remembered by Pitka Ittinuar, who delivered the eulogy at Ritcey's funeral in 2003. Ittinuar described Ritcey as a man who "cared greatly about the future of Inuit, defended their rights and played a big part in eventually dismantling colonialism in the Arctic."[48]

Students and staff at the Anglican Coppermine, Northwest Territories, unit hostel in 1958.
Library and Archives Canada, Joseph Vincent Jacobson and family fonds, e010997284

Public health nurse Peggy Rose giving an injection to an Inuit child at a vaccination clinic in what was then referred to as "Fort Chimo" and is now Kuujjuaq, Québec. In the 1950s, Fort Chimo was one of the few communities in northern Québec with a school.
Library and Archives Canada, Department of National Health and Welfare fonds, PA103478

A government day school, residence, and nursing station in what was then referred to as "Cape Dorset" in the Northwest Territories and is now Kinngait, Nunavut.

Library and Archives Canada, Alexander Stevenson, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds, reel c-10120.

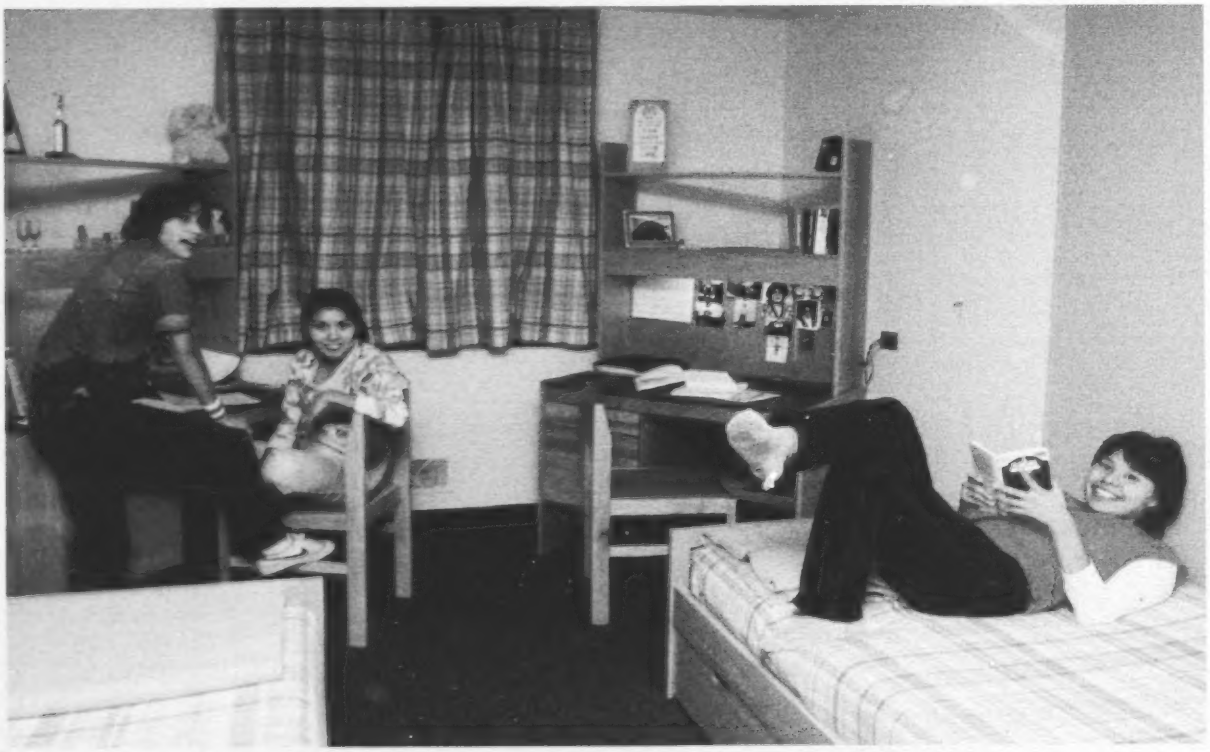
The Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories, residence and day school. The school at Fort Simpson also had separate Catholic and Protestant wings.

Oblates of Mary Immaculate Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate collection.

Staff and students at Breynat Hall, the Roman Catholic residence in Fort Smith, Northwest Territories.
Dechâtelets Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate collection.

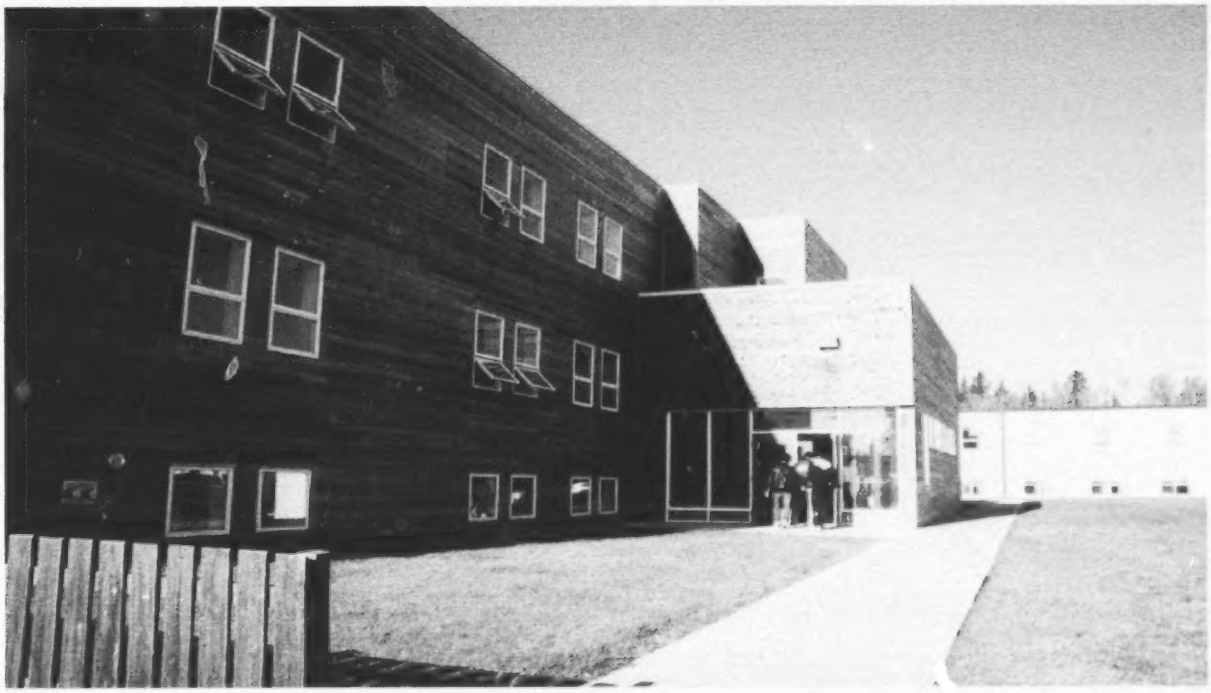
Akaitcho Hall in Yellowknife. Initially, Akaitcho Hall was the only large hostel that was not administered by a church organization in the Northwest Territories.

Public Works and Services, Northwest Territories Archives, G-1979-023-2149.



Students in the Akaitcho Hall dormitory in Yellowknife, Northwest Territories. Students who had transferred from older mission residential schools often spoke favourably of the conditions in Akaitcho Hall.

Public Works and Services, Northwest Territories Archives, G-1995-001-1605.



Breynat Hall in Fort Smith, Northwest Territories.
Public Works and Services, Northwest Territories Archives, G-1995-001-1876.

Extracurricular activities loomed large in life at the Roman Catholic Grandin College in Fort Smith, Northwest Territories.
Deschâtelets Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate collection.

The dining hall at Stringer Hall, the Anglican residence in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, 1970.
Public Works and Services, Northwest Territories Archives, Wilkinson, N-1979-051-0400S.

The exterior of Sir Alexander Mackenzie School in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, April 1970. The school had two separate wings: one Catholic, one Protestant.
Public Works and Services, Northwest Territories Archives, Wilkinson/N-1979-051: 0409S.

Grollier Hall, the Roman Catholic residence in Inuvik, Northwest Territories. Four Grollier Hall staff members were convicted for sexually abusing students at the school.

Public Works and Services, Northwest Territories Archives, James Jerome fonds, N-1987-017-2241.

Inuit students at the Fort Churchill, Manitoba, school in 1964.

Avataq Cultural Institute Photographs Collection, Ida Watt Collection, NUN-IW1-23.

Fleming Hall residence and day school at Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories. In the early 1960s, two more residential and living at Fleming Hall, the Anglican hostel in Fort McPherson, were conducted on charges concerning their inappropriate relations with students.
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P2334-66.

Bompas Hall, the Anglican residence in Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories. When a boy with tuberculosis was admitted to Bompas Hall in December 1963, the administrators, Bess Sabin, promised the parents and that the boy was equipped to receive large doses of medicine on a daily basis for seven months. Sabin wrote, "We have no professional nurse on our staff to be responsible for this medication."
General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, P2334-65.

The Roman Catholic school in Lower Post, on the Yukon-British Columbia border, opened in 1911. It drew students from both northern British Columbia and the Yukon.

Sisters of Providence Archives, Ontario, Oblate of Mary Immaculate collection.

Staff and students at the Lower Post school in northern British Columbia.

Sisters of Providence Archives, Ontario, Oblate of Mary Immaculate collection.

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The small business

The small business is a business that is owned and operated by one person or a small group of people. It is usually a business that is not very large in terms of the number of employees or the amount of money that it makes. Small businesses are important to the economy because they provide jobs for many people and they help to create a sense of community. They are also important because they are often the first step that people take when they want to start their own business.

> In the United States, a small business is usually defined as a business that has fewer than 500 employees. However, this definition can vary depending on the industry and the location of the business. For example, a small business in the retail industry may have fewer than 100 employees, while a small business in the manufacturing industry may have fewer than 500 employees.

There are many different types of small businesses. Some of the most common types include:

- Retail businesses, such as stores that sell clothing, food, or other goods.
- Service businesses, such as businesses that provide repair services, cleaning services, or other services.
- Manufacturing businesses, such as businesses that make products.
- Wholesale businesses, such as businesses that buy products from manufacturers and sell them to retailers.
- Online businesses, such as businesses that sell products or services over the Internet.

Starting a small business can be a challenging but rewarding experience. There are many things that you need to do in order to start a small business, such as:

1. Develop a business plan.
2. Choose a business structure.
3. Register your business with the government.
4. Obtain the necessary licenses and permits.
5. Open a business bank account.
6. Get insurance for your business.
7. Market your business.

Once you have started your small business, you will need to manage it effectively in order to make it successful. This includes things like:

- Keeping track of your finances.
- Managing your employees.
- Dealing with customers.
- Marketing your business.
- Staying up-to-date on the latest trends in your industry.

Small businesses can be a great way to make a living and to be your own boss. However, they can also be a lot of work and they can be risky. If you are thinking about starting a small business, it is important to do your research and to make sure that you are prepared for the challenges that you will face.

beautiful buildings each have three four-bed dormitories, a playroom, a large dining room, a well-equipped kitchen and two bathrooms."[14] P. R. Gotlick, the regional superintendent of welfare, reported in 1965 that Dr. I. P. Harvey was "quite disturbed" to discover that the hostels in Arviat (Eskimo Point) lacked bathtubs or shower stalls. Harvey said that "proper bathroom facilities are essential for the health of the children maintained in these small hostels."[15]

Maintenance was an ongoing problem. In 1970 the water lines for the bathtubs and one of the showers at one hostel at Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay) froze. Since they were made of plastic, it was not possible to use heat to thaw them. Nor was there any construction blueprint to show where the lines ran under the floor. At the same hostel, lack of fittings made it difficult to pump out sewage tanks. The fact that the hostels had been built without porches left them vulnerable to cold weather and strong winds. According to Principal E. S. Ellis, "During a storm two weeks ago the north door of Annie's hostel blew off taking one boy with it."[16]

The administration of the hostels could be chaotic. Northern Affairs had prepared a manual describing the training that hostel mothers were to be given. Although the manual was supposedly sent out in late 1968, school staff in Qamani'tuaq and Kangiqtaaraqlik (Great Whale River) said in 1969 that they had never seen it.[17]

The first hostels were constructed to house eight students, but by 1970 Northern Affairs indicated they were capable of housing twelve students. In addition to these twelve students, the hostel parents' children also lived in the hostels, usually in a single 3-by-3.6-metre room.[18]

From the outset there were concerns that rather than allowing parents to continue to live on the land while their children attended school, the small hostels might actually lead more Inuit to settle in communities year-round. In 1957, a Northern Affairs official recommended a cautious approach to the establishment of a hostel in Qamani'tuaq, stating, "We should seek to avoid placing in the traditional communities institutions which contribute to congregation and which may work to the detriment of hunting and trapping on the land. Baker Lake is one of the traditional communities."[19]

Karl Kitsenmeyer, a local teacher, opposed hostelling students at the hostel in Kinngait (Lake Harbour) on Baffin Island. It was, he wrote, "better to bring the school environment directly into their camps (homes) where the children can share both their every day, native environment and the school environment than to alienate the children from their native environment in order to bring them into a school environment (which we are doing to an extent when we bring them into hostels)." He feared that parents would migrate into Kinngait to be with their children. This would put great pressure on the local hunting, trapping, and fishing resources and create an "unnecessary welfare problem." The Inuit of the Kinngait area were, he wrote, "a very proud, self-supporting group of people. It would be unwise and unfortunate

to do something new which would tend to change this very desirable situation."[20] A Mounted Police report from Mittimatalik in 1965 warned:

> The only foreseen problem in the immediate future ... will be the mass migration from the camps to the settlements. This has been quite noticeable this year in Pond Inlet.... This is brought about mainly by the parents wishing to be close to their children, when they leave the camps to attend school in the settlement. Because of the close knit Eskimo family, this will continue to be a problem, and in the future, I would imagine a very great one. This past year a whole camp moved into the settlement, the only reason given, to be close to their children attending school.[21]

According to the guidebook for the operation of the hostels, the small hostels were to "serve as an intermediate stage between the native home and the modern home of the white man to which it is hoped the indigent child will readily adjust."[22] A 1960 memorandum on the planning and operation of the small hostels noted that while there should be incentive for the students to speak English,

> we do feel it would be a good thing to allow children to speak their native tongue in the hostel when they so desire. The Hostel may indeed be a vital part of the learning process but it should also be a symbol of security for the child, providing a familiar atmosphere, and we all know how much more at home we feel when we can communicate in our own language.[23]

In practice, school staff found it difficult to operate an institution that was meant to serve as an "intermediate stage." In describing his "philosophy of education" for the Qamani'tuaq school, Principal Ivan Mouat wrote in 1962 that "Eskimo children are Canadian children first, then Eskimos. Canadian children go to school every day, they get there on time. We cannot spend hours out of the classroom for a hike or a game." That, he said, was the line that he had taken at the school that year.[24]

In 1965 Orland Larson, principal at Qikiqtarjuaq (Broughton Island), wrote, "We consider the teaching of English as a second language as the key issue in the northern curriculum." He said that he and another teacher had made considerable use of puppets in language lessons and had "written innumerable stories based on local happenings and myths and favorite children's stories as supplementary reading material." Larson was emphatic about the need to develop a northern-oriented curriculum, stating, "It is not enough to ape the southern curriculum with a few adaptions."[25]

The decision to have the hostels operated by local Inuit rather than a white supervisor from the South was an important departure from past practice. According to the hostel guidebook, hostel parents were "to provide adequate meals, to see that the children's bedding and clothing are clean and in good repair, to ensure that the hostel is kept clean and orderly, and to supervise and discipline the children as a wise and judicious parent would do."[26]

The local federal day school principal was responsible for the hiring of the hostel staff. The principal was also instructed to "keep himself constantly aware of hostel operations and seek the co-operation of other community officials should problems occur." Initially a hostel instructor, "perhaps the wife of a Government employee," was to provide hostel parents with two weeks of instruction before the opening of the hostel. After that she was to inspect the hostel on a weekly basis.[27]

In his 1962 report, Qamani'tuaq principal Mouat wrote that the hostel mothers had done "an admirable job under trying conditions. They have no water pressure system, no hot water system, and no dryer yet they are expected to do all the washing for 8 children in addition to the extra chores around the hostel."[28] The following year Mouat wrote that while the work of one of the hostel mothers had "not been outstanding," too much had been expected "of a neophyte" and he expected that she would improve with experience. The problems he had identified the year before remained unresolved.

> They are expected to do all the washing of clothes, bed linen etc., for eight or more children, yet the equipment provided is most inadequate. They have no running water, no piped hot water, no water system, and no clothes dryer.[29]

M. P. Walsh, the principal of the Arviat school, raised concerns in 1960 about the government interest in hiring widows to serve as hostel mothers.

> We should provide for training of the older boys in the skills of their own culture and should therefore set these hostels up with a 'house father' who can take them hunting, etc. and so provide training for the Eskimo way of life. If it is our intention to try to simulate the natural home environment and to allow these hostels to be operated as Eskimo homes we must face the fact that we plan to have them eat some Eskimo food. This must come from somewhere, and the best way is through the presence of a husband and 'father' in the home.[30]

Not all hirings were successful. At Kangirsuk (Payne Bay), a house mother was fired after three months because, according to the principal, Ann Meldrum, "she was unkind to the children, even her own relatives—which is unusual,—and as a result we had two bed wetters." When the house mother was replaced by her sister, the atmosphere was reported to have improved "one hundred fold."[31] In 1963, Igloolik principal Ann Emmett reported that one hostel father, who was "mentally ill, with a tendency for violence," was evacuated on an emergency flight.[32] In 1967 there were complaints from parents in Sanikiluaq (Belcher Islands) that their children were not pleased with the hostel mothers or the general conditions of the hostels at the Kuujjuaraapik hostel in Québec. It was recommended that photographs of the residence, along with information "concerning the pupil activities, the quality of the food and supervision," be presented to the parents so as to reassure them that their children were being properly cared for.[33]

While the hostel parents were supposed to be raising the children in a setting that reflected community practices, they were closely monitored by local school staff. In northern Québec, for instance, house parents were sent on a six-week course that taught them what was expected in housekeeping, cooking, and child care. These courses also included English-language training.[34] In discussing the hostels at Mittimatalik in 1967, Principal David Davies wrote, "Suitable Eskimo couples are paid to run the hostels under the supervision of the School Principal, though my wife really looks after the hostels." While local food was meant to be an important part of the diet, Davies reported, "Advice is given to the hostel mothers on the preparation of food and on the best system of household management."[35]

A 1976 inspection of the hostels at Iqaluktuuttiaq concluded that in one hostel, "all the children appear to be getting tender, loving care." The meals were described as "well prepared and tasty." While operations at the other hostel needed improvement, the inspector felt that the hostel parents "both love kids and in my opinion are giving tender, loving care to their charges."[36] In 1989 Iqaluktuuttiaq principal Dawn Wilson gave a very positive assessment of one set of hostel parents. He noted "country foods are available at all times," adding that the "hostel father hunts and fishes for the family." In addition, the students were encouraged to make use of the kitchen for making bannock. In general, the meals were considered "well balanced and nutritious." The hostel residents were always clean and well groomed and their clothing was well cared for. It was felt the hostel parents encouraged the students in both their studies and their recreational activities, scheduling study time and organizing dances and video nights for them.[37]

While there was an expectation that hostel parents would ensure a supply of local fish and meat, the hostels were supplied with canned food.[38] In addition, food was purchased from local hunters. In 1968 the principal at Kuujjuaraapik was purchasing seal meat, ptarmigan, and geese from local Inuit and First Nations people for use in the hostels. At Igloolik the hostel parents supplied the bulk of the fish consumed, while at Mittimatalik local fish were being "used sparingly due to high price."[39]

Initially Northern Affairs expected parents to provide clothing to the children who went to the small hostels.[40] In 1963 W. C. Devitt, district superintendent of schools, reported that the pupils attending the small hostels usually had "only the bare necessities of clothing, often reaching the situation where when clothes are washed clean clothing is not available." Rather than supply them with clothes, he recommended that commercial dryers be installed in all hostels to make it possible to wash and dry clothes at night when the children were sleeping.[41] Igloolik principal Ann Emmett reported in 1963 that many children arrived at the hostel "in filth and rags."[42] The following year, when the parents of children in the Igloolik hostel came to the community to trade, the principal asked them to purchase any needed clothing for their children. Those who were on relief were given material from which to make the clothes.[43]

In 1965 the policy governing clothing at the large hostels was extended to the small hostels. Under this policy, clothing was to be provided to children entering small hostels. A. Stevenson, the administrator of the Arctic, wrote that supply was to be "based clearly on need and we must be careful to make a realistic assessment of how much responsibility we can take over from the parents for clothing their children." Principals were authorized to spend up to $60 per student on clothing (compared with $100 per student at the Churchill school, which was attended by older students).[44] While there was an effort to purchase parkas manufactured in the North, funding restrictions led to a decision to import parkas from southern Canada in 1968.[45] It is not clear how well communicated these policies were. For example, in 1970, Iqaluktuuttiaq principal F. S. Ellis was asking if there was a clothing allowance for children whose parents could not afford to buy clothes for their children.[46]

Recruiting students and keeping them in the hostels was an ongoing problem. In 1961 C. M. Bolger, the administrator of the Arctic, wrote, "We are doing everything possible to recruit suitable teenage pupils to fill at least two" of the three hostels in Kuujjuaraapik. To this end, applications had been sent to all the communities in Nunavik.[47] Recruiting efforts may have been coercive since the following year, a Northern Affairs memorandum stressed the need for field staff to obtain signed parental approval for the recruitment of children from Sanikiluaq to Kuujjuaraapik.[48]

By the fall of 1963, Northern Affairs had recognized that it was faced with a serious problem ensuring hostel occupancy. In November all three hostels at Qikiqtarjuaq were empty. In August all the school teachers had resigned, necessitating a reduction in enrolment and a decision not to take any students into the hostel. At Kinngait (Cape Dorset) only one of the three hostels was in use. At Kangirsuk, there were two hostels with no occupants. The one hostel at Arctic Bay was being used as a temporary classroom. Pangnirtung had three hostels, but since the local school had only two teachers, no more than one hostel was needed. At Arviat there were three hostels, only two of which were occupied. The third was being used as office space. At Sanikiluaq, Kuujjuaraapik, Kangirsuk, Qamani'tuaq, and Igloolik, all the constructed hostels were occupied.[49]

The issues at Kinngait illustrate some of the problems that were experienced in recruiting and keeping students in the hostels. In 1963 three of the eleven students initially admitted were discharged because their parents "felt the hostel staff was unsuitable." In one case a father withdrew his son because he was being bullied. Another took his son out because he was homesick. In the third case a girl was withdrawn by her father because she was not happy with the treatment she received from other girls. Principal Brian Lewis concluded that the hostel father disliked his job intensely. Lewis wrote that community members had no confidence in the hostel father "as a supervisor of young boys." The principal let parents withdraw their children because he felt that the hostel system had been imposed on the community. To prevent people from

taking their children would, he felt, "cause irreparable damage." He thought that it had been a mistake to try to fill all the hostels at once. "It would have been far better to try one hostel, and find some suitable people to live in it and to run it."[50]

While the original plan had been to recruit only from camps that were within eighty kilometres of the settlement, the fact that the Kinngait hostels were half empty led to a recommendation from Northern Affairs official B. Shasstein that "children should be brought in from more distant camps, in fact from any place where they can be found."[51] By 1967 one hostel had been put to use as a classroom, and federal officials were planning to convert the remaining hostels to classrooms.[52]

W. Berry, Northern Affairs area administrator, took a hard line at Mittimatalik. In 1964 he refused to allow two sets of parents to remove their children from the hostel there. He said that in previous years he had been able to fill the two hostels in Mittimatalik through persuasion. But, he wrote, "the parents of the children still in the camps, and who will be required to send their children to school when the new 12 pupil hostels are built next year, are unconvinced of the benefits of schooling and dread the prospect of separation from their children. They are unaware that their little backwater world is inevitably changing, and wish only that their children be good hunters and sewers. They cannot be, or have no desire to be persuaded otherwise."

Berry recommended that the government should "invoke the full provisions of the school ordinance which provides penalties for truancy." If not, it should cancel the construction of the hostel. He asked, "Are we to adhere to the ordinance, or will the unsophisticated and backward parents be the arbiters of our policy?"[53]

Many of the hostels were never occupied. By 1965 there were three hostels in Qikiqtarjuaq, far more than were needed. As a result, students lived in two of the buildings, while the third hostel was used for a variety of purposes, including adult education. Principal Orland Larson wrote in 1965 that since there were not enough students to fill even two hostels,

> it was decided to let all the school children in the settlement experience hostel living. Each week six new students go to live in the hostel for six days. Using a rotation basis it means that every school child can live in the hostels once every three weeks. Not only does this use up hostel rations [of which there was a surplus] it provides the children with well-balanced meals, adequate sleep and a chance to wash and bathe. Everyone goes home on the weekends to help their parents. Most of the permanent residents come from a nearby camp. We believe we have been able to eliminate any feelings of prejudice towards a few who might be in the hostels all the time.[54]

While many hostels sat empty, others were consistently overcrowded. In 1964 there were twenty-seven children living in the Igloolik hostels, which had been built to accommodate eighteen.[55] Because of the fire risk created by this overcrowding,

there was a ban on visitors, including visiting parents, spending the night in hostels.[56] The following year, the Igloolik and Pangnirtung schools had to turn away students because of lack of space in their hostels.[57]

Most of the hostels had very short lifespans. A tent hostel was operated alongside a seasonal school for twenty-four students at Kangiqsualujjuaq (George River), Québec, in the summer of 1960.[58] The Kangirsuk hostels were closed in February 1962 and all seven remaining students sent home.[59] By the following year, all the families that had been using the hostel had settled in Kangirsuk.[60] Federal officials hoped to fill the hostels with students from Koartak, but, according to a Northern Affairs official, in the fall of 1964 Koartak parents refused to even consider sending their children to Kangirsuk.[61] The Sanikiluaq hostel opened in October 1963 with six student boarders.[62] In the winter of 1964, the families of the children at the school decided to stay in the community for the winter. As a result, the students left the hostel and returned to their parents' homes. Federal officials were able to convince the boys to return to the hostel. At the time, an official wrote, "The whole concept of the hostel operation is now well-known to the local people, and understood. In forthcoming years this will serve good purpose."[63] This was an overly optimistic assessment. In September 1964, after one year of operation, there were only two students living in the hostel.[64] By November 1964, the Sanikiluaq hostel was empty.[65] In 1968 four children from South Camp were being boarded with local communities so they could attend school in Sanikiluaq. Three of the children were reported to be living in "overcrowded and unhealthy conditions." However, the fourth was boarding with the government interpreter, who was being allowed to rent the six-bed hostel building, which would otherwise have been unoccupied.[66]

Health services were limited. In 1962 Qamani'tuaq principal Ivan Mouat was critical of the federal health department's slowness in providing treatment to persons diagnosed with tuberculosis.

> There was a boy in my class (he has still not left the settlement) who is a suspected TB case. If he has TB, then he should be sent immediately for treatment. As it is, he has been left almost three months in a crowded house. Looking at this from a purely personal point of view, I object to being needlessly exposed to active TB germs in a crowded classroom. Taking the larger view, I certainly must protest the needless endangering of a whole class.[67]

The following year Mouat wrote, "Ever since I arrived here, evidence of visual defects have been observed. In spite of many memos on the subject no child has received an eye examination."[68] A 1962 influenza epidemic in Inukjuak (Port Harrison), Québec, so overtaxed local medical facilities that six children were cared for in one of the hostels.[69] In 1967 there was an outbreak of meningitis in the Arctic, particularly in the Keewatin region. Two children died in Repulse Bay, two at Arviat, one at Rankin Inlet, and one at Qamani'tuaq. One of the teachers at Arviat was diagnosed with meningitis.

He recovered, but the illness was judged to have "a demoralizing effect upon other married staff with children in that community." While it was not clear at that time whether the meningitis was related to tuberculosis, the disease continued to be a serious problem in the communities. Arviat was hit by an outbreak of tuberculosis in the spring of 1963. The June class lists show that thirty-three of eighty-four students were in the Clearwater, Manitoba, sanatorium.[70] Consideration was given that year to transforming hostels in Kinngait into facilities for sick children from that region.[71] In 1964 fourteen Inuit children who had been treated at the hospital in Moose Factory, Ontario, were transferred to the Moose Factory school.[72] Between September 1966 and March 1967, twenty-five people had to be evacuated from the community of Arviat for treatment. An additional fifty people had tested positive for tuberculosis. There had been a serious epidemic of the disease in the community just four years earlier.[73]

Some former students recall life in the small hostels as harsh and even abusive. One former student spoke of being sexually assaulted by the hostel father.[74] Although not abused in the same way, Carolyne Nivisie explained how her hostel parents failed to provide proper care for children at a hostel in southern Quebec. In Nivisie's opinion, her hostel parents used their position to benefit their own family. For instance, instead of using the food supplies to feed hostel children, she remembered, her hostel parents sent away portions of the food rations to relatives in a nearby camp, leaving the hostel children without adequate supplies for their meals.[75] Lack of food, and control of food, seemed to be a problem remembered by other Survivors of small hostels. Eric Anaustalik remembered having to rely on local families for food after the hostel's supplies ran out.[76]

Many Survivors remember feeling like "double outsiders" at the small hostels; not only were they outsiders to the hostel environment, they were also outsiders to the local community around the hostels and at the day schools. Several former students said they were bullied by local children and local hostel parents. Sarah Peryonne remembered that she was made to feel different: "We were treated differently because of who our parents were and who we were."[77] Although not a resident of a small hostel, Jimmy Iruka noticed how the children at the hostel in his settlement of Kinngait were punished more severely by the teachers than were local children.[78] Likewise, Annie Aglingeruk, who was abused by her hostel parents, was also bullied by local children from Iqaluktuuttiaq during her years in the hostel there. She told of how her brand new parka, given to her by the hostel staff when she arrived at Iqaluktuuttiaq, was torn and ripped by other children after weeks of bullying.

> I use to be afraid to go out for recess ... because kids would bully me. I use to be afraid to go home just from school to the hostel 'cause kids ... want to pick on me for no reason, I don't know—I was just a different person from another community maybe.... They did that for one week.... It really bothered me.... My brand new parka, it was torn from those kids that were bullying me. I went home with

> my parka torn and I got scolding for that. I was grounded for three days just for my parka being torn, and it wasn't my fault—it was the kids that were bullying me.[1]

Dora Fraser said that at hostels in the eastern Arctic, students were sometimes tied to their chairs as punishment. She also said that in some cases, the people who were supposed to be supervising the hostels were abusive. When that happened, "some of the older kids used to take advantage of the younger ones for sexual purposes." When a woman from her home community became the hostel mother, she thought conditions would improve. "She was the worst. She shamed us, like, shamed us to death. We were nothing to her. We were bad. We're very negative. She was a very negative person." She also recalled the training that children were subjected to.

> We went to this strange hostel. We were terribly teased because of our language. We had different dialect. We were called seal meat eaters, druggies, islanders. "You smell like seal." That was one, my first experiences, but as this time goes on ... We are islanders, we eat seafood, food, country food, but as soon as we got into this hostel, it changed.[2]

While envisioned as a way to create a less dislocating and alienating experience than the large hostels, in many ways these small hostels may have made it harder to build friendships with other children, and just as hard to retain contact with their own families. Inuktitut was allowed and, theoretically, a connection with Inuit culture was supported; however, without family or the opportunity to build friendships, the small hostel could well have been a more isolating and lonely experience than the larger hostels. Sarah Pootoogoo, for one, believed "more damage" was done to her at the small hostel in Qamani'tuaq than during her time at the large hostel at Churchill.[3]

Over time parents moved into the settlements, eliminating the need for such residences. In February 1969 the principal of the once crowded Igloolik hostel wrote, "Since most of the outlying camps have now been abandoned and the families concerned being now housed within the settlement, only a small number of children now make use of the hostels. At this moment six children are in residence."[4] By July of that year it was reported to have closed.[5] Most of the hostels in the eastern Arctic and Nunavik were closed by the end of the 1971. There was slight expansion of the system in 1981 when Kivalliq Hall opened in Rankin Inlet. It had an initial enrolment of thirty-two students—making it larger than most small hostels, but smaller than the large hostels.[6] It closed in the mid-1990s.[7] In the early 1990s the Samuel Angmaktuk hostel opened in Mittimatalik.[8] It appears to have operated until at least 1995.[9] Small hostels also continued to operate in the western and central Arctic. The eight-bed Fort Franklin hostel in what is now Déline opened in 1967. Demand declined rapidly in the coming years. It was not used at all during the 1972–73 school year, and had been used only slightly in the previous year. At that point it was recommended that it be converted to an adult

education centre. A similar recommendation was made in regard to a twelve-bed hostel at Tulita (Fort Norman).[16] In 1960, there were four small hostels in the western Arctic, in Aklavik/Inuvik, Fort Good Hope, and Fort McPherson.[17] The number was down to two by 1965: the Aklavik/Inuvik and Fort Good Hope hostels.[18] The Aklavik/Inuvik hostel continued to operate into the mid-1980s.[19]

The large and small hostel system had been designed by the federal government to improve its authority in the North and to bring the benefits of modernity to the residents. It was intended to replace the church-run mission school system. There is no doubt that the physical facilities represented a dramatic improvement over the old mission schools. The expansion of the number of day schools also made it possible for a significant number of children to receive schooling in their community. The system, however, was imposed with no meaningful consultation, taught a largely irrelevant curriculum, undermined family, community, and cultural bonds, and placed students at risk. In many ways it was simply an extension rather than a replacement of the southern residential school model, complete with extensive church involvement. Although the federal government and the churches eschewed their responsibility for the administration of the schools in the years after 1969, the student experiences described above remained much the same before and after the transfer of responsibility. While the experiences remained similar, the number of students undergoing that experience declined significantly, as the territorial government moved, over time, to bring the hostel system to an end.

CHAPTER 11

Territorial administration: 1969 to 1997

The year 1969 was pivotal for constitutional reform in the North. That year saw the creation of the Council of the North, the Northern Ireland Constitution Act, the Northern Ireland Police Act, the Northern Territory Administration Act, and the transfer of responsibility for Aboriginal affairs to the Northern Territory, and the transfer of management authority for forests in the Northern Territory to the Commonwealth government. It also marked the peak of the system of large councils. In the Northern Territory, for example, there were nine large councils in 1969. By the beginning of 1975, only four were in operation: Gordon Hall in Darwin, Tennant in Alice Springs, Australia Hall in Katherine, and Lagoon Hall in Port Hedland. In 1969 there were two conferences and two constitutional schools for Port Hedland students from the Territory. By 1975 only one was still in operation.

Disassembling the forest system in the Northern Territory

In January 1969, the commencement of the Northern Territory Act paved the way for the Legislature with the commencement date on April 1, the territorial government was to take over all of the seven large councils in the North, the two exceptions being Tangerine Hall. "The Minister accommodate that in begin with the Territorial Government should be prepared to operate pupil conference in the north for the same way as they are now being operated, that is, by agreement with the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches".

In reality, the churches' involvement would decline in the coming years. Rather than being transferred to the territorial government, the Roman Catholic Tangerine Hall was simply closed in 1969. In total nine conferences were transferred. Tables 11.1, 11.2, and 11.3 show that at the time of transfer the Territorial had a total enrolment of 1,289. Forty-four percent of the students were from Alice Springs right-concentrated Port Hedland.

Table 4.11: Investment, government-owned and operated sugar conference, Bauchi state

Investment, Bauchi, 2005	x_1	x_2	x_3	x_4
Year	2005	2	3	2006
Profit	1000	1500	1900	2400

Source: Oh, Min. Investments in the Nigeria Electricity Industry. Bauchi: Gulf Research, 2006. Print.
p.c. Archive for Research in Foreign Affairs (forthcoming).

Table 4.12: Investment in government-owned conference, operated under contract

			Assets	Price depreciation	Difference	Wealth
Joint Ventures	Holding Gulf	Kingdom	1	10	0	100
Oil Company	Petrogas Gulf	Kingdom	20	1	0	20
Oil Company	Lagos Gulf	Private Limited	1	10	0	100
Oil Gulf	Private Gulf	Private Limited	1	10	20	100
Oil Gulf	Public Gulf	Private Limited	10	1	20	100
Oil Gulf	Private Gulf	Kingdom	10	1	0	10
Petroleum Gulf	Kingdom Gulf	Private Limited	20	1	1	20
			1.1	100	1.0	1.1

Note: The Joint Investment in Foreign Gulf is associated to the regional sugar, petroleum and gas.
Source: Oh, Min. Investments in the Nigeria Electricity Industry. Bauchi: Gulf Research, 2006. Print.
p.c. Archive for Research in Foreign Affairs (forthcoming).

Table 4.13: Investment for government-owned and operated investor, and government-owned and operated investor, state

Government-owned and operated	x_{11}	x_{12}	x_{13}	x_{14}
Government-owned and operated	x_{21}	x_{22}	x_{23}	x_{24}
	Lagos Capital	Lagos Capital	Lagos Capital	Lagos

Source: Oh, Min. Investments in the Nigeria Electricity Industry. Bauchi: Gulf Research, 2006. Print.
p.c. Archive for Research in Foreign Affairs (forthcoming).

As Tables 4.11, 4.12, and 4.13 show, as the first few years of investment operations, the operation of large conference in the West Bauchi Conference Gulf Coast state is severe. North-northwest Kingdom City over 50% going from 1,000 conference in 2005 to the Kingdom of 2010. An English or French government of Bauchi would not be interesting to continue to operate Nottingham Gulf to benefit the the existing oilfield power. The conference showed a loss of that year. Petroleum Gulf and Petroleum Gulf also showed a 2012. The Joint Investment, and its 1990 only loss of the large conference to consolidate upon Gulf was of Bauchi. Corporate Gulf Gulf conference that was shown in Table 4.12 and Figure 4.5. Research conference was only one Bauchi Gulf Research as the state of operation.

Table 1. [illegible] Enrollment in the Midwest Tech University Language Immersion Program, [illegible] 2018–2022

[illegible]	[illegible]	2018	2019	2020	2021
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

to 1965 management of the new residence was provided by the Dän Cho Anglican Council and the residence became Dän Cho Hall.[37] The following year it provided accommodation for thirty-eight students.[38] It closed in 1966, bringing the number of large hostels operating in the Northwest Territories to three.[39]

Projections in the fall of 1962 showed Akaitcho Hall enrolment declining from 159 in the 1962-63 school year to twelve in the 1965-66 school year.[40] In the face of this decline, the territorial government closed Akaitcho Hall at the end of the 1965-66 school year. Students who came to Yellowknife for high school were now boarded in private homes.[41]

The Roman Catholic Church operated Grollier Hall until 1967.[42] The church chose not to renew its contract because it was "running out of religious personnel which would allow us to continue the work."[43] Following the withdrawal of the Roman Catholic Church, the territorial government contracted a local firm, Frykstrom Management Ltd., to administer Grollier Hall.[44] In the spring of 1968, the Department of Education delegated responsibility for Grollier Hall to the Beaufort-Delta Divisional Board of Education.[45] A 1967 projection for Grollier Hall showed enrolment declining from fifty-one in 1968-69 to thirty-two in 1969-70 and fifteen in 1970-71.[46] In the spring of 1970, layoff notices were issued to Grollier staff as plans were made to close the facility.[47] Grollier Hall was turned over to Aurora College in the summer of 1971.[48] With that transfer, the era of the large hostels had come to an end.

Dismantling the hostel system in the Yukon

A process similar to that of the Northwest Territories took place in the Yukon. In 1949, Indian Affairs transferred older students from the Carcross school to Yukon Hall in Whitehorse. According to a policy directive, new enrolment at Carcross was to be kept to a minimum.[49] The following year the Carcross school was closed because of decreasing numbers of students and the policy of providing "integrated schooling for Indian children wherever possible."[50] In 1969, Indian Affairs turned the responsibility for the schooling of First Nations students over to the Yukon government. It did, however, retain responsibility for operating the two hostels in Whitehorse and the Lower Post residential school, over the border in British Columbia.[51]

The Yukon government also moved to reduce the number of residences. In the summer of 1970, Keith Johnson, the administrator of the Anglican Yukon Hall, was made administrator of the Catholic Coudrier Hall. Starting that fall, students were assigned to one of the two residences on the basis of age, not religion. The smaller Coudrier Hall housed children age six to twelve, while Yukon Hall housed students thirteen and over. In addition, students from Carmacks, who had in the past been sent over

4000 kilometres from home to the Lower Post school, were now to be housed in the Whitehorse hostels, 800 kilometres closer to their home community. In announcing the changes, Yukon Commissioner James Smith said that residential complexes were to be phased out in the coming years.[10] By the following year, Coudert Hall and Yukon Hall had been completely amalgamated, leaving the Yukon with only two large residential options: Yukon Hall and Lower Post.[11] The expected enrolment for Yukon Hall for the 1970–71 school year was 150 students, with 135 students expected at Lower Post. The Lower Post principal sought to have half a dozen Grades Eight and Nine students transferred to Yukon Hall for "social reasons." An Indian Affairs official noted that such a move would not be in keeping with the departmental policy of keeping students "in their home community wherever possible."[12] In the face of rising costs and declining enrolment, Lower Post closed at the end of June 1975. It was replaced by three group homes in Yukon communities.[13] Yukon Hall would operate until 1985. According to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1984–85:

> The Chiefs' Advisory Board was the forum for Yukon Indian participation in regional policy formulation and decision making. After discussions with Yukon chiefs, the region decided to close the student residence, Yukon Hall, an institution many Indian people felt was detrimental to their education.[14]

After Yukon Hall closed, a room-and-board subsidy was provided by the Yukon government for students who wished to take grades or courses not available in their home community. Because the subsidy did not cover the total cost of boarding, Indian Affairs provided an additional supplement for First Nations students. As Indian Affairs official B. Zinman observed, "Parents feel the Yukon Government should cover all costs or expand the grades in their community so that students would not have to leave."[15]

The dismantling of the system of large hostels in the North after 1969 can be attributed to several factors. Key were government decisions to increase both the number of day schools in First Nations and Inuit communities and the number of grades taught in these schools (a process known as grade extension). Two other factors were the construction of small group homes for students and an increase in the practice of boarding students in private homes. These policy measures were often adopted in response to growing Aboriginal criticism of the residential school system. In the Northwest Territories, this criticism was often voiced by former residential school students who had become members of the legislature.

Aboriginal criticism of the residences

In the late 1960s, two non-Aboriginal legislators raised concerns about the impact of the large hostels. Gordon Gibson, who was appointed to the Northwest Territories

Council in 1967, was critical of "the policy of the education department in sending children above grade six level from many small centres to larger communities to continue their education." An editorial in a Yellowknife paper lauded Gibson's speech, adding that the hostel system was outdated. "With some 500 teachers in the north, we would say we do have enough teachers for the smaller places and if more are required, then pay them enough money so they will accept the positions in the smaller communities." Rather than developing the North, the hostel system was, in the editorialist's opinion, "destroying the smaller communities."[34] R. G. Williamson, another appointed member of the Northwest Territories Council (which has since evolved into the Northwest Territories Legislative Assembly), was highly critical of the conditions in the Churchill Vocational Centre. In 1967 he wrote:

> Inadequate supervisors have been providing inadequate services. It is an open secret that the youngsters slip out of the Hostel at night with impunity—into a town which is justly notorious as a moral nightmare. The Hostel itself is, by accounts I have received, not a healthy place for young people to spend more than ten months of their lives each year. Potentially good students are not receiving the kind of background they need—and are performing well below their real capacity in some cases. And yet each year, I receive complaints from parents that they have been obliged, against their will, and sometimes with veiled threats to send their children to that institution.[35]

Northern Affairs officials were beginning to re-examine the department's policies. A 1967 memorandum reported: "We are now establishing small schools in communities where formerly they would not have been established, for example Repulse Bay, Hall Beach, and Sachs Harbour. We are also examining the feasibility of retaining in certain local schools pupils beyond Grade VI."[36]

Momentum for change continued to build in the 1970s. By then, a youthful and talented Aboriginal group of leaders, many of them bilingual, were emerging in the North. They included Piita Irniq, Nick Sibbeston, Tagak Curley, James WahShee, Georges Erasmus, John Amagoalik, Nellie Cournoyea, Richard Nerysoo, Jim Antoine, and Stephen Kakfwi. Most of these leaders had attended either residential schools or schools in southern Canada. This new generation took on leadership roles across the territories, in both Aboriginal rights organizations and territorial government, and several eventually attained the office of premier. They had consistent approaches, based on personal experience, an awareness of Aboriginal rights, and a first-hand understanding of the challenges of schooling in territories where economic development was promised, and where Aboriginal languages, hunting, trapping, and other traditional land-based activities remained important to their collective well-being, and essential to their identities.

As a result, Aboriginal people began to shape the debate over northern education. For example, Alain Maktar from Mittimatalik (Pond Inlet) told Northern Affairs

officials in Iqaluit in 1968 that "we want the Eskimo's to be taught in Eskimo" and "we want hunting included in this education as well as home economics." He argued for employing Elders in the classroom and summed up, "There are about four things we want them to learn, hunting, building igloo's, in the wintertime and the sewing and the language. If they learn those things they will be able to live in the Arctic."[37]

Delegates from several Inuit regions gathered at Kugluktuk (Coppermine) in 1970, to lay the groundwork for the formalization of the national Inuit organization, the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada (now the Inuit Tapiriit Kanatami). The delegates concluded that the present school systems "fail to provide our children with a meaningful education suited to their environment, fail to preserve our native cultures and fail to provide useful Canadian citizens." They demanded:

- that each community council have a voice in the curriculum content so that native history, culture and skills be included as full credit courses;
- that each community council determine what vacation months during the year will apply to a community. The Southern Canadian standard of July and August is almost universally unsuited to the wishes of Arctic Communities;
- that more schools be provided as rapidly as possible to eliminate the absences from home of ten months per year for our children;
- that instruction in native language dialects in the primary grades be implemented now ... We are decades behind the educational systems of Greenland and Siberia in this regard; that the program to utilize native teachers and teaching aides be greatly expanded immediately.

These points became the standards against which Inuit and other northern peoples would judge their school systems.[38]

A similar critique emerged from representatives of twelve Yukon First Nations, meeting as the Yukon Native Brotherhood in January 1972.[39] The position paper *Education for Yukon Indians* argued that "our children should be educated in public schools, but ... consideration should be given to the special problems, the preservation of the language, and the factual representation of the culture of a group comprising nearly one-third of the Yukon's population." In addition, the chiefs argued that certain vocational and technical courses "must be designed and presented in an Indian setting outside regular educational jurisdiction."[40]

In addressing educational policy, Yukon First Nations grappled with the fact that while they were outnumbered in the territory as a whole, they were a majority in many of its smaller communities. Their needs, they believed, were not being met in either context. They proposed that residential schools (which they referred to as the "hated hostel") be replaced by group homes. These homes would be located "centrally in each village, operated by Indian couples" and would offer short-term accommodation to anyone, especially children and Elders, who needed it to "free parents for the

trapline or employment, or to provide warm meals for the young and old who cannot care for themselves."

In 1977 the Council for Yukon Indians published *Together Today for Our Children Tomorrow: A Statement of Grievances and an Approach to Settlement by the Yukon Indian People*, which criticized residential schools for their role in undermining intergenerational relations, destroying First Nations spirituality, and producing a drop-out rate approaching 100%. No school in the Yukon taught students—white or First Nations—anything about the culture or achievements of First Nations.[41]

In the *Dene Declaration* of July 19, 1975, the Dene of the Mackenzie Valley issued their own assertion of Aboriginal rights.[42]

Aboriginal legislators were also raising the issue. Nick Sibbeston, a Dene from Fort Simpson and a member of the territorial council for Mackenzie-Liard, had been taken to residential school at age four. In speeches in the Northwest Territories legislature in 1971, he called for

- parental involvement in education;
- Dene control of schools and hostels, exemplified in plans for the new school and Dene-run hostel at Edzo (the Chief Jimmy Bruneau School);
- more schooling in communities so that no children need be taken from home before age twelve or thirteen at the earliest; and
- cultural content in curricula.

He was highly critical of an educational system in which children's "history, language, beliefs, whatever the parents have taught them, are thought to be minor details and excluded in many cases as a nuisance." He treated residential schools as part of a phenomenon of unemployment, lack of training, and "the anguish in adapting to a different society."[43]

In the late 1970s, Stephen Kakfwi, then an official with the Indian Brotherhood of the Northwest Territories (later called the Dene Nation), wrote of the way the schools had separated the generations:

> The elders had much difficulty in relating to the young. Many of the young lost the language, the values and the views which they had learned from their elders. The elders realized that what was happening to their young in school was not exactly what they wanted. The government was literally stealing young people from their families. They realized that, if the situation remained unchanged, they as a people would be destroyed in a relatively short time.[44]

Bob Overvold, of the Métis Association of the Northwest Territories (now the Northwest Territories Métis Nation), drew on the eight years he spent in Anglican, Catholic, and government schools to make a similar point:

> First, traditionally Dene children learned from their parents. In residential schools the adult-child relationship was almost non-existent; most, if not all the

> school and residential staff were non-Dene and thus quite alien to the majority of Dene students. Second, because of the style of those institutions, their size, and layout, this meant that many rules and regulations had to be imposed and thus the students were essentially forced to conform.[45]

The Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry of the mid-1970s provided former students with a forum to discuss their experiences. Justice Thomas Berger's final report included a brief discussion of the residential schooling system in the North and its adherence to the assimilationist program followed in the South. In testimony at Deline (Fort Franklin), Dolphus Shea told of years of pain and humiliation, concluding, "Today, I think back on the hostel life and I feel ferocious."[46]

The Aboriginal critique of boarding schools received a mixed reception from education officials. F. Dunford, the supervising principal of the Churchill Vocational Centre, complained in 1970 about the attitude of an Aboriginal speaker at a conference of northern residence administrators held in Yellowknife. Dunford wrote that the speaker, whom he did not name, "preached the gospel of Indian rights and told us what is wrong with white people." It was not, he felt, a constructive presentation.[47]

The campaign of the Inuit of the eastern Arctic to gain control of education from Yellowknife was filled with statements and manifestos that denounced the past system and called for a culturally inclusive, locally based educational system. Early on, the only eastern Arctic member of the legislature was Bryan Pearson of Iqaluit. While not Aboriginal himself, he made sure the legislature was aware of the desire of his Inuit constituents to see classrooms with Inuit teachers in every community and to see hostels become a thing of the past. Landmark events for the Inuit organizations included a four-part series of articles in *Inuit Today* by Tagak Curley, an early president of the Inuit Tapirisat, titled "Inuit in Our Educational System." In 1981 the Inuit Cultural Institute at Arviat (Eskimo Point) celebrated the International Year of the Child with an anticolonial review of northern education (*Ajurnarmat*). In the same year, the English/Inuktitut government periodical *Inuktitut* published a special issue on Inuit education, with articles on Alaska, Greenland, the Soviet Union, and four projects of current interest in Canada, including Inuktitut teacher-training programs.[48]

Tagak Curley addressed a meeting of Northwest Territories teachers in 1972:

> Most of all, I admire Canadian Inuit for resisting the total assimilation (change) attempted by the dominant Canadian society through their present education policy which you serve. It has been indicated by Inuit that they do not accept this total assimilation which is threatening our values today. It has been said by many Inuit and organizations that there is room in our Canadian society for Inuit to live in harmony (peace) by recognizing their rights through participation. They have the language, they have the traditional economy, and most of all they are the majorities in the settlements in which you will be teaching. We must

> seriously explore how to modernize those techniques without harming the values they so respect amongst themselves.[49]

In 1974, when the territorial government sought to rebuild the Iqaluktuuttiaq (Cambridge Bay) hostel, Pearson asked for details, adding: "Whenever I see that term 'pupil residence' I see red. Could we have an explanation of why we need a 16-bed pupil residence in Cambridge Bay?" When told that the previous residence had burned down, Pearson responded, "That is good. Who attends it? Why would we have a 16-bed pupil residence in Cambridge Bay?" The explanation was that the hostel was needed for the children of families that were "living off the land, in particular the people in the Bathurst Inlet."[50]

As this period drew to an end, Aboriginal political leaders became more explicit in their criticisms of the residential school system. One of the first to speak out in the North was Aivilik MLA Piita Irniq. On March 4, 1991, he told the legislature that "too much remains untold by the Government of Canada, and even by the Government of the Northwest Territories. I truly feel that Inuit who were assimilated have a right to know the blunt truth." He spoke of the "failure of a policy of the government, the result of which is the terrible damage to the preservation of our language, culture, values and the alienation of generations of Inuit peoples of the North." He called on the territorial government to take up the cause of the residential schools: "I would urge this government not to stall any further to have the Canadian government state their position on the residential school era so that many of us, former students and parents, can begin to deal with the emotional trauma which follows this era. We need to know what the real story is."[51]

Grade extension and boarding homes

Criticism by Aboriginal people provided a powerful rationale for dismantling the hostel system. It would take the construction of local day schools offering elementary, and later high school, grades (a process referred to as grade extension) and the adoption of various small-scale board options to finally empty the hostels.

Grade extension

The transfer of authority over education to territorial governments led to a reconsideration of earlier policies regarding whether schools could be located in small communities and which grade levels could be offered in those communities. Initially, educational administrators insisted that grade extension was too expensive.[52] A senior educational administrator told a legislative committee in 1971 that for educational

reasons he preferred schooling in communities to stop at Grade Six, but strong community pressures had led to a decision to provide up to Grade Eight in many places. It was a trend he expected to continue.[52] The following year Northwest Territories Commissioner Stuart Hodgson said, "We are trying to extend the education system in some of the larger communities ... but it is not always possible to extend it as far as what one might like, and therefore residences have to be used."[53] The pressure for grade extension was irresistible. As Table 11.7 shows, by 1995 even the Baffin Divisional Board of Education was offering Grade Twelve in six of its fourteen communities, with plans to raise that to ten communities within three years.[54]

Table 11.7 Actual and projected grade extension in Baffin Region communities, 1994-95 to 1999-2000

Community	Achieved			Projected		
	94/95	95/96	96/97	97/98	98/99	99/00
Arctic Bay	11	12	12	12	12	12
Cape Dorset	11	11	11	12	12	12
Clyde River	10	11	12	12	12	12
Grise Fiord	9	10	10	10	10	10
Hall Beach	11	11	12	12	12	12
Igloolik	12	12	12	12	12	12
Iqaluit/Apex	12	12	12	12	12	12
Kimmirut	11	11	11	11	11	11
Nanisivik	9	9	9	9	9	9
Qikiqtarjuaq	10	11	11	12	12	12
Pangnirtung	12	12	12	12	12	12
Pond Inlet	12	12	12	12	12	12
Resolute Bay	9	9	9	9	9	9
Sanikiluaq	11	12	12	12	12	12

Source: TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, Ubbink – Future Plans [Capital Planning], 1995, Transfer – Nunavut, box 21, untitled consultant's report, 2 February 1995, 6. [PDS 000451]

The impact of school construction and grade extension can be observed more closely by looking at the history of the Chief Jimmy Bruneau school and residence. This community-controlled school and residence opened in the new community of Edzo, near Behchoko (Fort Rae), in 1971. It was intended to be a new sort of residence. At the school's opening ceremony in 1972, Chief Bruneau said, "I have asked for a school to be built on my land and that school will be run by my people and my people will work at that school and children will learn both ways, our way and whiteman's way."[55]

At the start of the 1971–72 school year, the Chief Jimmy Memorial residence housed thirty-nine pupils.[37] By the following year, the figure had risen to ninety-three.[38] Due to the construction of day schools in other communities, the number of students in the residence declined to forty-five by the next year, and by the start of the 1974–75 year the residence had ceased to operate.[39] The school extended only to Grade Nine. Students who wished to complete further grades usually had to go to Yellowknife; between 1965 and 1990, only six students completed their high school education. To address this problem, the school introduced a Grade Ten program in 1991 (with Grades Eleven and Twelve added in the following years). Ten students graduated in 1994. The following year, the residence reopened, and the school served for a period as a regional high school.[40]

In the Yukon, a significant argument in favour of grade extension was the high dropout rate of what were described as "rural" students studying at the F. H. Collins High School in Whitehorse. In 1978 they had a dropout rate of 89%, the general Whitehorse dropout rate was 25%.[41] Table 11.8 provides an overview of the extension of grades at fifteen schools in the Yukon from 1974 to 1984.

Table 11.8 Changes in school grade offerings in the Yukon, 1939 to 1984

School	Grades offered
Pelly Crossing	Fluctuating Grades 1, 4, 8, with Grade 9 after 1980
Old Crow	Grade 8, 9, or 10, with Grade 10 in 1983 and 1984
Ross River	No school until 1980; Grade 1, 8, or 9 thereafter
Carmacks	Grade 9 in 1974, Grade 10 thereafter
Teslin	Grade 10 most years, Grade 12 1981 to 84
Ross River	Grade 10 throughout
Haines Junction	Grade 10 1974 to 1976, Grade 11 in 1980, Grade 12 1981 to 1984
Carcross	Fluctuating Grade 6 to Grade 9
Watson*	Grade 12 throughout
Mayo	Grade 12 throughout
Dawson	Grade 12 throughout
Elsa	Grades 8 or 7, declining to Grade 6 after 1983
Beaver Creek	Grade 7, 8 or 9, especially Grade 9 after 1981
Kluane	Grade 8 throughout, occasionally ending at 7 or 9
Faro	Grade 12 throughout

* The populations of Watson Lake and Upper Liard, whose communities apart on the Alaska Highway, apparently shared a school and have been combined here.

Source: School data from Sharp, *Yukon Rural Education*, 50.

Boarding homes and home boarding

Grade extensions did not solve the problem of children who wished to finish high school but lived in communities so small and isolated that the higher grades would never be available locally. In the Yukon, the federal government, under pressure from First Nations organizations, adopted a group home policy. At its 1972 and 1973 annual conferences, the Yukon Native Brotherhood had approved resolutions calling on Indian Affairs to replace student residences with group homes.[1] Group homes opened in Watson Lake and Ross River in 1975. At Ross River, a married couple were hired to provide care for up to eight children. The couple had to be approved by the Ross River Indian Band before being hired. The board was intended to "provide supervision and care in a native community to native children, who would normally be placed in a boarding residence for social or educational reasons."[2]

By 1985, there were three group homes, one in Ross River and two in Watson Lake—one of which was slated for closure in that year.[3] A 1988 review of the problems facing students from small rural communities called for a new small board at Haines Junction. According to the review, some high school students from farther west in Burwash, Destruction Bay, and Beaver Creek had taken their secondary schooling in Haines Junction, and "have remained in school for longer, passed more of their courses, and have consumed less settle" than others who went to high school in Whitehorse.[4]

The long-term future of schooling outside the home community was specifically addressed in the Umbrella Final Agreement of 1993, which set the framework for settlement of all First Nations land claims in Yukon. The agreement specifically allows as a "permitted activity for Settlement corporations" the granting of "scholarships and reimbursement of other expenses for juvenile and adult Yukon Indian People to enable them to attend conventional educational institutions within and outside the Yukon."[5]

Until at least 1988, the Northwest Territories government provided a "private boarding home allowance" in Yellowknife only for those students who were "handicapped" and therefore could not stay in Akaitcho Hall. A former Akaitcho Hall employee recommended that the boarding option be expanded to include other students. She felt this option would help reduce the institution's dropout rate.[6] Such a program was in operation by 1984.[7] The rates for home boarding were increased from $15 a day to $30 a day effective January 1, 1987. Even with the increase, Akaitcho Hall had "difficulty in finding suitable places for students."[8] The government further increased the boarding rates the following year: they ranged from $25 to $40 a day, depending on the region.[9]

By the mid-1990s the Northwest Territories government was giving thought to making greater use of boarding arrangements.[10] A proposal to expand the use of boarding arrangements in Iqaluit identified a number of potential problems. Not only

[illegible] was [illegible] a boarding [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] had to be [illegible] to run [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] a suitable place to study, sleep and eat, along with a "caring, firm and [illegible] environment [illegible] which to learn and grow. In spite of [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] may not have met to be suitable." Furthermore, the boarding home [illegible] "may not themselves have sufficient interest to [illegible] or guide the students" which would have the board to take notice. She [illegible] that "some home boarded students in the past have not been properly fed. The home boarding parents have spent the money on other things. In short, the students have been used as [illegible] for the family at the expense of their studies".[11] The review concluded that home boarding should be considered only "as an exception basis" when students' parents and the board both agreed.[12] A committee overseeing the future of Yirara College [illegible] came to similar conclusions, stating unanimously that "home boarding of students can work well if a careful selection of home boarding parents is ensured". [illegible] long-term solution was offered: "If student numbers are sensible they should be [illegible] on [illegible] and [illegible] not to a good family who will live in the environment".[13]

Residence rules: access to residence if unable

The policy of enrolling a limited number of Aboriginal students could in [illegible] their rules when [illegible] responsibility for education was [illegible] to the territory. According to Barbara Hutchens, [illegible] Bright Starry Skies 1967 to 1979, the program was [illegible] many and many students a year to Wiluna and a handful a year to Yirara.[14] Students from the remotest [illegible] could go to Kalgoorlie, while students from the nearest [illegible] typically [illegible] Geraldton to Yirara or Meekatharra. Student [illegible] was significant, and was believed to be best given through a Vocational Training Section in Northern Affairs. By 1968 [illegible] this level were [illegible] through this program, but only dozens of them went to high schools. So too were [illegible] vocational programs, with a few to academic [illegible].[15]

These students often [illegible] with non-Aboriginal families. In 1961 Hasluck policy [illegible] the government's policy of [illegible] [illegible] with families to [illegible]. As an alternative, Cawley called on the government to establish an "[illegible]" in Kalgoorlie.[16] Northern [illegible] were always [illegible] to the [illegible] [illegible] their young people [illegible], and [illegible] suggestions to [illegible] [illegible] special [illegible], with [illegible] for young students, to try to [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] for the culture shocks [illegible].[17] By 1963, the [illegible] government's official [illegible] was that it would not [illegible] [illegible].[18]

The residential school experience in Arctic Quebec and Labrador

in Saxony, in what is now Germany. The Moravians developed a strong missionary tradition, sending missionaries to the Americas, Africa, and Asia. In 1733, the Moravians established a mission in Greenland. In 1752, a missionary expedition to Labrador ended in a conflict with the Inuit that left seven members of the Moravian expedition dead. In 1764, Newfoundland's British colonial governor, Sir Hugh Palliser, endorsed a second Moravian expedition to northern Labrador. After two exploratory journeys, a mission was established in 1771 at Nutak Island, near what is now the community of Nain.[16]

Owing to their experience in Greenland, the Moravians came to Labrador able to speak Inuktitut. Between 1771 and 1905, they established eight mission sites there. The British had granted the Moravians the right to expel anyone from these extensive mission holdings if they did not obey the mission's rules. As late as the 1940s, private traders needed the Moravians' permission to operate at the missions, and a Moravian trading company handled most trade.[17] As a result, the Moravians were a dominant force in every aspect of mission life in northern Labrador.[18]

The Moravians established boarding schools early on at two of their missions in Labrador. They taught children how to read and write in Inuktitut, using the Roman alphabet. As a result, most Inuit in Labrador were literate in Inuktitut.[19] Inuit cultural practices were suppressed as 'heathen.' So little value did the Moravians attach to these practices that, in their extensive diaries and accounts, they neglected to document or describe them.[20]

The International Grenfell Association was an outgrowth of the work of Dr. Wilfred Grenfell, a British doctor and Protestant evangelist whose work with the Mission to Deep Sea Fishermen in the late nineteenth century brought him to Labrador.[21] He was struck by the desperate living conditions of the approximately 25,000 men, women, and children who migrated to Labrador annually to work the shore fishery and of the permanent settlers who lived there year round.[22] His work among these non-Aboriginal people eventually gained international attention. Grenfell Associations were established in England, the United States, and Canada to raise funds to support his missionary and medical aid work in Labrador.[23] By 1909 he had established a hospital and an orphanage in Labrador.[24] At a time when much missionary work in Canada focused on Aboriginal people or on eastern European immigrants, Grenfell directed his efforts toward people of Anglo-Saxon descent.[25]

The role of boarding schools and orphanages in Labrador was expanded in the wake of the 1918 influenza epidemic. The high death rate, and lack of government support led the Grenfell Mission to raise money for a dormitory school at Muddy Bay, to house children orphaned by the epidemic.[26] By the mid-1920s, the Grenfell Mission had established four hospitals, two orphanages, and three public schools.[27] The International Grenfell Association, organized to carry on Grenfell's work, was operating three boarding schools by 1925.[28] Many of the teachers in the Grenfell

schools were unpaid volunteers, who were expected not only to pay their own transportation to Labrador but also to bring their own school supplies.[89]

Starting in the 1950s and up to the 1970s, the Grenfell schools accepted Inuit children who were attending high school.[90] When Newfoundland and Labrador joined Canada in 1949, education and social services in Labrador were left largely to the missionary organizations.[91] Under a 1954 federal-provincial agreement, the Grenfell Association had responsibility for health in northern Labrador. The services were provided under provincial authority, but the funding came from Ottawa.[92]

The federal government did not extend its network of hostels and federal day schools for Aboriginal people into Labrador in the 1950s. This decision appears to have been due to the fact that the terms of union between Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador made no mention of Aboriginal people.[93] The federal government took the position that Aboriginal people in Newfoundland and Labrador were a provincial responsibility. The federal government would eventually enter into specific agreements with the province to provide financial assistance to Aboriginal communities, but the amounts provided were less than what similar communities received in the rest of the country.[94]

The Moravians and the International Grenfell Association continued to operate residential schools.[95] Some of these schools, in Cartwright, Nain, Makkovik, North West River, and St. Anthony, operated into the 1970s.[96]

The experiences of the students who attended the Labrador schools are similar to those of other residential school students. Rose Oliver grew up in Rigolet, Labrador. She told the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada that for her first fourteen years, she lived in "a big happy family with traditional foods, and mom ... was teaching me how to be a Inuit woman; how to clean seal skins and that kind of a thing." When she was fourteen, her father insisted that she go to the boarding school at North West River. Her mother was opposed to the decision. "Every time I left she would cry her heart out. And I would cry too."

At the school, students were not allowed to speak their Inuit language, except in secret: "Only at night time when we had to whisper it." Oliver also missed the foods that she ate at home. She found the rules and regulations oppressive. In particular, there were "a lot of chores to do for a young girl. Make a great big bed for the whole dorm. Wash huge sheets in the morning and iron them before school started. And it seemed like we had no social life anymore; there was no time spent with us, like, to help us to be young women. The house mothers were cold and they were from England; I don't think they understood our ways." Christmas was a particularly hard time: "It was very lonely in the dormitory. There was ... it wasn't like home. Home was where we had stockings hung up and there was food on the table and there was laughter and Santa Claus came to the school. But here it was just a cold environment."[97]

Rosalie Webber, an Inuit woman, attended a Grenfell Mission school in Cartwright in the 1940s. The children travelled to the school by boat, and she remembered

> all the people, especially the younger ones crying, all of the way; being very sea-sick. 'Cause this boat was confined and we were used to being in the boat with our dad, in the open boat.
>
> So when we arrived there, everybody was taken off and deloused; kerosene. Everybody crying and tired and then our hair was cut, our clothes was taken from us and we were given a bibbed, farmer's blue jeans and the lumberjack shirts, two items of underwear and two socks and two shirts ... and gumboots, which was our—what we wore for the rest of our duration there, winter or summer.

Even though her mother worked at the school, she was not allowed to speak with her: "She had one day off, I think every month and a half. No, she had a half a day off, every month and a half, but she wasn't allowed to speak with us. It was very, very traumatic as a child, to go from a homey family environment to a sterile, where you were wakened by a bell, cleaned your teeth by a bell, made your bed by a bell."

Webber found the diet strange and inedible:

> So, and then my first meal there I didn't eat potatoes, well we didn't have potato peels. Well we didn't have potatoes in the islands, you know. We didn't have too much fresh fruit and we ate off the land.
>
> Because I didn't eat my potatoes then I was refused food and I was sent to my room. And it wasn't my room, it was everybody's room. And for three days I didn't have food. And when my meal time came they presented the potato skins to me again and I'd refuse to eat them, till the third day. And, I guess I must have ate them because I was allowed to go back to classroom, or the dormitory.

It was a limited, regimented life that left her feeling angry and humiliated:

> So you grow up, always hungry. You get up by a bell, you ate by a bell, you sat by a bell, you got up by a bell, you went to school by a bell, you come in from outside by a bell, you had your other meal by a bell and you went to bed by a bell. And when that bell rang there was no communication between anyone; very isolating, very lonely. I was filled with anger that you couldn't express.[28]

Matilda Lampe attended the boarding school in Nain in the 1970s. When she and her younger sister, Doris, were taken to the school, they thought they were only staying overnight. Matilda recalled comforting her sister on the night of their arrival. "I said, 'Doris, we go sleep in boarding school overnight. Mom's going to pick us up tomorrow; must be tomorrow night.' Doris was happy." As was the case at many residential schools, the two girls were left in tears when their long hair was cut on their first day

at the school. According to Matilda, Doris was punished for speaking Inuktitut at the school. They stayed at the school for three years.[39]

The treatment they received on arrival left many students feeling humiliated and inferior. Rose Mitsuk attended the North West River school in the 1970s. In her recollection the children were made to feel dirty from the day of their arrival at the school:

> After we went in the dorm and put our clothes away and all that, there was a—one of those parents was a Sister. And she took me and brought me into the bathroom and she washed my hair with lice shampoo. And that made me feel that she must've felt that I was dirty. But I don't know if she did that with the other students. I know that she did it with me and I don't know, it's ... that I'll never forget it. 'Cause I think that I was—I wasn't a dirty person. I think I was a clean person, to me, but that, that thing I'll never forget.[40]

Joanna Michel attended the North West River school.

> As an Innu person I ... I felt I was dirty all the time. There was always something wrong with me because of these constantly, constantly remarks that were made to us; that we were dirty Indians and we were, should be happy that we are in that place; to look after, to look after us; give us better life. I was one confused little girl. I felt like my parents didn't want me; that's why I was in that institution.

On at least one occasion, she got into a fight with the person in charge of the dormitory. "I remember feeling very angry and helpless; there was nothing I could do to protect my little sister. So I jumped on the house mother's back and I started pulling on her hair; started hitting her. 'Why you being so bad to my sister!?'"[41]

Sophie Keelan was born in 1948 and recalled her family's traditional way of life: "We were Inuit people and we were living like nomadic people of the land. Surviving by hunting and fishing on the land and. . . . And we were living in a tent. I was born in a tent, with two midwives. And I was born in northern part of Labrador; it's called Saglek Bay on a very small island." When she was young, her family moved south to the community of Makkovik, where she attended a day school.

> In school we had a hard time because we're Inuit, we're native and these children—they're white and we had to mingle with them. And ... after every time after school, they would wait for us outside, outside the school, and wait for us. Then they start throwing rocks at us, calling us names. We would run, run for our lives, and we even had to make a little road up in the trees. We couldn't go on the road anymore 'cause if we did they gonna run after us. We had to hide, kind of hide and go in the bushes and trees, and the rocks were at us. They were throwing rocks at us.[42]

Many former students also spoke of being bullied. Marjorie Goudie briefly attended the North West River school in the 1960s. As she recalled, "Not real long after we got to North West River me and my sister got beat up by the other children, just because. I

didn't want to be there, and I hated being there." When she went home for Christmas, she announced that she was not going back to school. "I didn't even care what my parents was going to say to me because they wanted me to get an education. But I really didn't care because I didn't want to be in that dormitory. So I just stayed home."[43]

Abraham Nochasak attended the Hopedale Mission Home in Labrador in the 1960s. He recalled being punished for speaking Inuktitut: "I still couldn't speak English, although it was Grade Two; I used to speak little bit English. So once in a while when I used to talk Inuktitut, and when I got caught talking Inuktitut, they used to put me in the corner. Stand in the corner until our lessons was over. I stand in the corner lots of times for trying to talk Inuktitut."[44]

Samuel Nui, who was born in Davis Inlet, Labrador, attended the North West River school for one year in the early 1950s. He recalled that he was made to strip naked in front of male and female students for wetting his bed. He was also punished with a belt for bedwetting. Sometimes he was denied food or water for a day. When his mother came to the community for medical treatment, he was not allowed to see her.[45]

Patricia Kemuksiak recalled being taken by force from her grandmother's house to the school in North West River:

> We hung onto our grandmother and we wouldn't let go and they tore us out of her arms and brought us to North West River into the foreign dorm.
>
> My sister who was about a year old went into the infants' home and me and my brother went to the junior dorm in North West River; however, we were in the same dorm but we were separated and hardly saw each other because we were separated by boys and girls.

She found school life to be highly regimented: "We were scheduled and scheduled and scheduled to death. Everything went on a schedule and a bell. And if people didn't like the food we ate, because the food was really bad there, food was shoved down their throat until they threw up." She recalled it as an austere and loveless institution: "We were fed, clothed and had a bed, but there was no love, no caring, and no support. I had a lot of anger for being put there in the dorm or the orphanage, some people called it, and I felt abandoned. I tried to maintain contact with my brother and sister, but it was difficult. I prayed a lot to go home, constantly prayed."[46]

From the students' perspective, there was little to distinguish life in the Labrador residential schools from life in the residential schools that operated in the rest of the country. Nevertheless, residential schools in Labrador were excluded from the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. That did not preclude the TRC from hearing from former students of Labrador residential schools who had relevant experiences to share with the Commission in its efforts to "tell the complete history" and legacy of residential schools in Canada.

In 2010, the Newfoundland and Labrador Court of Appeal certified a class action suit launched by former students of the Labrador schools for abuses that occurred in the schools. The Newfoundland Court of Appeal upheld that decision in 2011.[47] In January 2015, it was announced that the parties had agreed to submit the case to mediation.[48]

Conclusion

Residential schooling in northern Canada was, at most times and places, not a segregated system but part of a system of public education. And yet, like the better-known segregated systems in southern Canada, these schools disrupted the intergenerational transmission of values and skills and imparted few if any of the skills needed for employment.

There were a number of unique elements to the northern experience. Perhaps one of the most unusual was the number of former residential school students who served in the legislature of the Northwest Territories. These former students, some of whom served as cabinet ministers, mounted a direct challenge to the thinking of education officials. They clearly identified the system's failings and proposed remedies that were distinctly northern.

The harm done by residential schooling in the North remains. The students who were adults in Akaitcho Hall in 1975 may well have been the same young men and women who were disoriented, bullied, and abused as children in the large hostels in the mid-1960s. Although some were not abused or treated roughly themselves, they all lived in a milieu where abuse, whether in the classroom or the hostel, was all too common. When they returned to their communities, they were estranged from their parents, their language, and their culture. Many of their parents, the generation still in a state of shock from the upheavals of the 1940s through the 1960s, could not knit their communities back together again. The removal of children added to the damage already done by other economic and demographic changes. And jobs—which were the main inducement to parents to give up their young people—generally failed to materialize. But despite these hardships, many Survivors found the courage and the energy to begin to pull their lives and their communities back together.

Notes

An era of neglect:

Canadian government policy in the North before 1950

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13. French, *Restless Nomad*, 1.
14. French, *Restless Nomad*, 5.
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23. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 3.
24. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 11.
25. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 3–4.
26. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 13–14.
27. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 14.
28. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 28.
29. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 15.
30. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 14.
31. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 45.
32. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 38.
33. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 27.
34. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 28.
35. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 39.

36. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 26.
37. Thrasher, *Thrasher*, 30.
38. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 1.
39. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 4.
40. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 5.
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42. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 11.
43. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 12.
44. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 13.
45. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 21.
46. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 29.
47. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 27.
48. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 41–42.
49. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 31.
50. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 32.
51. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 89.
52. Blondin-Perrin, *My Heart*, 39.
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55. Canadien, *From Lishamie*, 52.
56. Canadien, *From Lishamie*, 56.
57. Canadien, *From Lishamie*, 106.
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Section 2 – Introduction

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1. [illegible]
2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
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2. [illegible]
3. [illegible]
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The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was created in 1966. In 2011, it was renamed Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Before 1966, different departments were responsible for the portfolios of Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs.

The departments responsible for Indian Affairs were (in chronological order):

- The Department of the Secretary of State of Canada (to 1869)
- The Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces (1869–1873)
- The Department of the Interior (1873–1880)
- The Department of Indian Affairs (1880–1936)
- The Department of Mines and Resources (1936–1950)
- The Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950–1965)
- The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1966)
- The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1966 to the present)

The exact titles of Indian Affairs annual reports changed over time, and were named for the department.

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RG10 (Indian Affairs Records Group) The records of RG10 at Library and Archives Canada are currently part of the RG36, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds. For clarity and brevity, in footnotes throughout this report, records belonging to the RG10 Records Group have been identified simply with their RG10 information. Where a copy of an RG10 document held in a HBC database was used, the HBC database holding that copy is clearly identified, along with the RG10 information connected with the original document.

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